

AMERICA

A·CATHOLIC·REVIEW·OF·THE·WEEK

W HOLE No. 684 {
VOL. XXVIII, No. 3 {

November 4, 1922

PRICE 10 CENTS
\$4.00 A YEAR

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Chronicle

Austria.—In these days Austrian ladies of the cultured classes are seeking to support themselves with the help of their hands. But, although they apply themselves to skilled and artistic work of every kind, up to the present the demand for their products has not been sufficient to keep body and soul together. Under these conditions was conceived the happy idea of renewing the old trade of Gobelin tapestry. Two large rooms in the former imperial castle at Vienna have been assigned as workshops for this undertaking. Although the enterprise is still in its beginning it has already accomplished work that is worthy of the old-time traditions. Austrian Gobelins became famous through the financial schemes to which they gave rise. Dealers in antiquities from all nations sought to secure them. When the House of the Hapsburgs fell after the World War no one thought of the Gobelins in the royal palace, and through the loyalty of an employe they were saved from being spirited away like other treasures of art. Austrian experts and artists who finally learned of their existence at once caused them to be exhibited publicly in order that the enthusiasm of the people might prevent any future robbery of these magnificent works of the loom. The beautiful rooms of the castle Belvedere were therefore opened two years ago for a Gobelin Exhibition which aroused the utmost admiration.

A New Gobelin Industry

The factories of Brussels, Bruges, Paris, Enghien and Lorraine had worked for the Hapsburg dynasty in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The very best material, silk, wool and metal threads, were used in the imperial tapestries. Nothing like them, therefore, had been exhibited before. Great artists like Raffael, his pupil Barend van Orley, Peter Paul Rubens, Jacob Jordaens, Primaticcio, the Fernierses, Charles Lebrun and others had furnished the designs for these masterpieces.

The technique of the old manufactories, which is still carried on at Fontainebleau and at Copenhagen, has now been introduced in the recently founded manufactory at Vienna. The tapestries are made on the vertical loom. The artist works with a modern tool looking like a lace-bobbin. It contains the colored thread which must be passed through the warp where that color may be needed. As the picture-tapestries are very complicated hundreds of such lace bobbins, with hundreds of different threads, are required for a single design. The artist sees nothing but the fleece of many-colored threads, each weighed down with its lace-bobbin.

China.—Recent dispatches from China announce that Pekin has sent two armies into the province of Fukien, where the local Government has been upset by alleged adherents of Sun-Yat-sen, the deposed President of South China; some supporters of Chan Tsolin, a Manchurian, and the remnant of the military group known as the An-fu Club. One army, 20,000 strong, has already crossed the northwest borders of Fukien; the second army is marching from the Kiangst province and will unite with the former. The military Governor of Fukien has been deposed and sent to Shanghai, leaving the province at the mercy of the revolutionists who, it would appear, are commanded by Han-Tsung-chen, the man who led Sun-Yat-sen's troops to defeat last spring. The political problem in Fukien has been complicated by the failure of the Fukien bank, which had been supported by the ex-Military Governor.

A New Revolt

Czechoslovakia.—An elementary-school law has been enacted enabling parents to exempt their children from religious instruction in the schools by a mere declaration made to this effect at the time of registration. In consequence the organized liberal teachers have done all in their power, by intimidation and deception, to induce as many

Religious Persecution in Schools

parents and guardians as possible to exempt their children from this obligation. Thus requests for such exemptions were dictated to the children in the schools that they might bring them back signed by the parents. Only when all the mischief had been done and the registrations were over was a declaration sent out by the school authorities prohibiting the teachers from carrying on agitation during registration time. This looked like adding insult to injury. Although not many were deceived by these tactics yet the irritation of the people is extreme, especially since the anti-Catholic teachers, who are the majority of the teaching body and well organized, in many cases really persecute the children of avowedly Catholic parents, and scorn and ridicule everything Catholic. For this reason a number of Czech parents, in areas containing various nationalities, prefer to send their children to German schools, where nothing of this kind is at present taking place. The situation has become intolerable. Anti-Catholic teachers openly declare that they defy any law or authority to prescribe to them what they shall choose to say in the classroom regarding religion. They know the power of their organization and also understand that they have strong protectors in high places.

England.—Andrew Bonar Law, after being unanimously elected leader of the Conservative party at a meeting on October 23 in London of the Conservative peers

**The Bonar
Law Cabinet**

and members of Parliament, accepted the King's mandate to form a new administration and thereupon became Premier in succession to Mr. Lloyd George, taking over full control of the Government. He is the first man born outside the British Isles, he was born in New Brunswick, Canada, to become the Executive for the Empire, and his administration will be the first purely Conservative Government in seventeen years. October 24, the new Premier announced the principal members of his Cabinet, as follows: Premier and First Lord of the Treasury, Andrew Bonar Law; Lord President of the Council, Marquis of Salisbury; Lord High Chancellor, Viscount Cave; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Stanley Baldwin; Secretary for Home Affairs, William C. Bridgeman; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Marquis Curzon; Secretary for the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire; Secretary for India, Viscount Peel; Secretary for War, the Earl of Derby; First Lord of the Admiralty, Lieutenant Colonel L. C. M. S. Amery; President of the Board of Trade, Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme; Minister of Health, Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen; Minister of Agriculture, Sir Robert A. Sanders; Secretary for Scotland, Viscount Novar; Attorney General, Douglas McG. Hogg; Lord Advocate, the Hon. A. Watson; President of the Board of Education, Edward F. L. Wood.

In its editorial comment on the new Cabinet, the *London Chronicle* points out that in the House of Commons there will be only two Ministers besides Bonar Law who have

before held Cabinet rank. The *Daily News* says that the personnel of the new Tory Ministry "is interesting without being exciting," and that it will have a "very strong front bench in the Lords and a very weak one in the Commons." The formal transfer of power from the Lloyd George to the Bonar Law Government was made October 25. The retiring Ministers went to Buckingham Palace and handed over to the King the seals of office. They were received singly, and to each the King spoke a few words in appreciation of his work. Then the new Ministers arrived, and after receiving the seals were in their turn sworn in.

On the same day, addressing a meeting of Coalition Liberals, Mr. Lloyd George sounded what might be termed the keynote of the coming electoral campaign. He gave formal warning to the Conservatives that they must not oppose the Coalition-Liberal candidates, unless they are prepared for a declaration of war. At the same time he announced that he and his followers would fight Labor and the Asquith Liberals, asserting that in each case, any other course had been made impossible. He declared that the Coalition-Liberals must stand for the country first, and oppose radical labor on the one hand and die-hard reaction on the other. He appealed to his hearers not to nurse any grievance, but rather to consider only the country, and pledged himself to support any administration that would give the people a progressive and efficient government.

On the following day, October 26, Premier Bonar Law, making his first public speech since the fall of the Lloyd George Government, to his own constituents at Glasgow, outlined his policy and that of his colleagues and paid a generous tribute to his predecessor. He deliberately refrained from making any sensational appeal to the country. According to the new Premier, tranquillity was the great need of the moment in Great Britain; industry needed stability to give it courage to launch forth again. For the present, he thought that less legislation would be the better for all concerned. He advised the country to put up with things which it knew were wrong, unless it was very sure more harm would not be done by trying to remedy them than by leaving them alone. As for Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law freely admitted that he was the greatest personality of the day in British politics. Both in this speech and the subsequent manifesto practically issued to the country by the Premier, Mr. Law advocated nothing to which Mr. Lloyd George could not subscribe; the difference between the old and the new administration seems likely to lie in the essential differences between the characters, personalities and methods of the two leaders. With regard to the Irish policy of the retiring Premier by which the Irish Free State was brought into being, Mr. Bonar Law officially declared that he would stand by the acts of his predecessors and ask Parliament to ratify the treaty. Parliament was prorogued by royal decree October 26. The elections were fixed for November 15.

Germany.—The financial condition of Germany is now causing universal disquiet. Sir John Bradbury, British member of the Allied Reparations Commission left London for Berlin to press for a more intimate cooperation between the Commission and the German Government to

**Serious Financial
Conditions**

secure budget equilibrium and the stabilization of the mark. The stability of the mark was at least far greater than that of Austrian currency. But since the printing of Austrian banknotes will now be stopped within a few days while the mark continues to sink and threatens to decline to the level of the kronen, a panic has been produced, so that the mark quickly fell in Vienna from forty-nine to only thirty Austrian kronen. Such was the effect of the Geneva decision, although in markets of good currency the Austrian krone is not changing greatly in its value, which still remains almost infinitesimal.

The possibility of Germany going into bankruptcy has been considerably rumored in the press. The visit of Hugo Stinnes to Paris, with the purpose of entering into some understanding with French financiers, has been denied, but the correspondent of the *New York Times* insists that it has nevertheless taken place. Big French interests, he explains, gave the utmost help they could to the famous German industrialist, but politics proved too strong for the combined business effort. The French debt now amounts to 5,000,000,000 paper francs. In the face of this fact politicians are not inclined to follow the more sane leadership of business men, who understand the actual possibilities of the situation in Germany, and wish to make their pattern according to the cloth at their disposal. The following is the *Times'* summary of existing conditions:

The failure of the latest get-together effort between France and Germany and the continued downward plunge of the mark, together with the approach of desperate winter conditions completely dishearten the Berlin Government. Chancellor Wirth is one of the few men in Germany with the qualities of leadership. He goes on from day to day knowing the position is impossible. The same class of conspirators who got Rathenau, recently came within an ace of getting Wirth.

There is no present hope of meeting payments sufficiently to stave off French penalties. With the withdrawal of America from the Rhine the single steadying and hopeful influence will disappear. Without our disinterested service to constrain the Germans and restrain the French, Bedlamite conditions may be expected on the Rhine.

The views expressed in the foregoing are those commonly held by neutral observers in this region. The situation is generally regarded as more serious than it has ever been. Pessimism not only prevails here, but in Switzerland and other neutral countries best informed sentiment is most gloomy. Nobody believes a real settlement is possible without the United States.

This picture may be considered as expressing the general sentiment of impartial observers. The correspondent concludes with the words of an American who warns us not to underestimate the seriousness of the present danger of a new conflagration in which Europe and even America may be involved. "It will take about a minute for the fiery furnace of Europe to be relighted."

Iraq.—The Mudania conference and the events leading up to it obscured to a large extent the formal creation of a new State, that of Iraq, comprised territorially within

**Treaty With Great
Britain Signed**

the limits of what was formerly known as Mesopotamia. Early in October, relations between Great Britain and the Kingdom of Iraq were settled at Bagdad, when the Treaty was signed by the High Contracting Parties, Sir Percy Cox, High Commissioner, and Sir Saiyid Abd-ur-Rahman, G.B.E., Prime Minister, as plenipotentiaries respectively of Great Britain and Iraq. It had been announced a few weeks previously that King Feisal and his Government had accepted and would sign the treaty. The term of the treaty is for twenty years, at the end of which term it may be ended if it is thought desirable, after examination. In the meantime, the provisions may from time to time be reviewed.

The Treaty provides that in all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of the British Government, the King of Iraq shall be guided by the advice of the British High Commissioner. An important article of the treaty stipulates that his Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations as soon as possible. Article III of the treaty lays down the principle of complete religious freedom, within public order and morals. The King of Iraq agrees to frame and present to the Constituent Assembly an Organic Law, and this law shall "ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals." The treaty, furthermore, goes on to declare that "no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language." With regard to the question of schools, the treaty "shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired."

Ireland.—On October 25 the Irish Constitution passed the third and final reading in the Dail. The next day, the Republican publicity department announced the formation

**Political
Conditions**

of a new Republican Government with De Valera as President. On October 28, leaders of the Republican army issued a proclamation stating that they were responsible for this latter Government and would recognize De Valera and a Council of State, to be selected by the latter, as the supreme temporary Executive. The document continued:

On behalf of the army we pledge that Executive our allegiance and support in all its legitimate efforts to maintain and defend the Republic. We call upon all our comrades and loyal fellow citizens and our kin throughout the world to join us in re-assert-

ing our ancient right to be a free people and a free nation, owing allegiance to no foreign authority whatever.

On October 27 the Ulster Parliament rose to sit again on December 12, when, according to official announcement, Ulster will "contract out" of the Irish Free State.

Italy.—The threats made repeatedly in the last days of October by Benito Mussolini, the leader of the Fascisti, that he and his followers would assume control of the

The Fascisti Coup

Government, by force if necessary, took partial effect at least, October 27. On that date, just as the Fascisti Congress was coming to a close at Naples, Premier Facta and his Ministry resigned as a consequence of the violent attitude of the Fascisti. Mussolini had just ordered a general mobilization of his forces throughout the country, if the Cabinet declined to give up power to him and his followers. At first the wildest rumors were afloat, the most alarming being that several bodies of Fascisti were marching on Rome with some revolutionary purpose in view. These reports proved later untrue, but on all sides it was conceded that the situation was alarming. It was not clear, however, whether the Fascisti coup was carried out, merely in order to get control of the Cabinet, or was directed against the present system of government in Italy. A year ago, Mussolini declared himself a Republican, but at Naples, during the Fascisti Congress, he spoke favorably of the House of Savoy, which, he admitted, had cemented the unity of Italy. If the utterances of Mussolini and his lieutenants can be credited, the present attempt of the Fascisti to gain power was not directed against King Victor Emmanuel or the actual regime. It was merely intended to force the Ministers to give them and the party they represent, a fuller share of recognition and power in the administration of the country. One element of the Fascisti demands certain positions in the Cabinet, while another refuses to cooperate with any government, except one set up by the Fascisti themselves. One of the sources of the confusion prevailing at the beginning of the outbreak, was that the leaders of the Fascisti openly contradicted one another when laying down their platform and outlining their plans.

In view of the rumors of violence and of threatened uprising throughout Italy, the whole Cabinet, waiting for its successor, decided to issue a proclamation declaring a state of siege in all the provinces, beginning at noon, October 28. But King Victor Emmanuel thought it unnecessary and imprudent to sign the document, and the Government decided to make a conciliatory appeal to the country, asking it to stand by the laws and to support the Government in the attempt it will everywhere make to have them observed. No disorders of any significance were reported from the provinces, but the Fascisti, as far as could be gained from the puzzling reports which came from Naples, Milan, Rome and Pisa, were extending their campaign with a view of exerting pressure to gain their ends.

Jugoslavia.—Since the very beginning of this Republic Catholics have ceaselessly urged that a Concordat be concluded with the Holy See. So far not even the preliminary steps have been taken. Immediately before the World War, July

The Proposed Concordat

24, 1914, Serbia had entered into such a Concordat for its own restricted area. Montenegro had concluded one as early as August 18, 1886. The Jugoslavian Government would now prefer to extend the Serbian Concordat over the entire Republic. A few of the provisions of this document may here be mentioned. On the subject of marriage it says: "Mixed marriages are recognized, even though the marriage takes place in a Catholic church. In such cases marriage trials are to take place before the Catholic marriage court." It is to be noted that previous to the enactment of this clause no mixed marriages were regarded as valid by the Government unless they had been contracted in an Orthodox church. Article 10 concedes that religious instruction may be given by priests, appointed by the Bishop with the consent of the State. The appointment and the withdrawal of the appointment are to come from the Bishop. At present religious instruction is, in various localities, given by secular teachers. It is immaterial to the authorities whether these teachers of religion are schismatics or even infidels. Article 3 states: "The Bishops are immediately dependent upon the Holy See." It further declares: "The old Slav language is guaranteed for the Divine services." This last point is looked upon by the present Government as of such importance that in the preliminaries drawn up by it for the new Concordat it is put in the very first place.

It is not remarkable that during revolutionary periods such as that through which Jugoslavia has recently passed scandals should occur in the Church. After the Hun-

The National Church

garian Revolution of 1848 there were priests who neglected their duties and married. So after the victories of 1870 the Old Catholic Church was founded to subjugate the *Römlinge*, as Catholics were called. In Jugoslavia, as in Czechoslovakia, Freemasonry has been successful in winning over for its purposes a number of apostate priests. In Jugoslavia one of these publicly boasted: "Why shouldn't I do it. I receive from the Masons a monthly income of 6,000 crowns." Yet in spite of all this agitation the National Church has been able to gain a few adherents, and there is in fact good hope that the entire movement will die a natural death. The good Catholic people of the country have no inclination to accept married pastors, nor do they insist upon Mass in the old Croatian language, but are perfectly content with their traditional worship. It may here be mentioned that the descriptive passages regarding Croatia which appeared in *AMERICA* have been translated and published with complete approval in the *Hroarske Pucke Novine*, the *Croatian People's Paper*.

Labor Needs Education

J. B. CULEMANS.

THE millennium of social peace will never dawn upon the world. Social wrongs will exist always. They will have to be fought and set aright. Yet much of our discontent and strife proceeds from lack of knowledge or from misunderstanding. And that much at least can be removed by education, leading to a better grasp of common social needs and aims. Radical organizations have devoted a great deal of time and energy for some years past to day and evening classes where the worker may acquire a better insight into the problems that affect him, his employment, his wages, his means and opportunities of advancement. Quite naturally, at their hands, he has been the victim of a one-sided presentation of social problems. He has been indoctrinated with radical views, radical propaganda, radical statistics. And he becomes a formidable adversary for his less enlightened neighbor who is satisfied to let things take their course; or who is dissatisfied himself, but does not know where to look for a remedy that does not violate his conscience and yet will bring results in bettering his condition.

Too many labor reform movements of great promise begin and end in the press or on the platform. It is well enough they should begin there so as to secure a hearing from the largest possible number of laborers. But it is a pity that they should end there for lack of trained, intelligent workers to carry them through to a practical application. Real social reforms mostly start from the bottom, among the rank and file of those who have been the long suffering victims of injustice and oppression, and at last make a concerted effort to throw off the galling yoke. Not always can these upheavals be guided and controlled by leaders of sober judgment able to command a following. Radical agitators are well aware of this. And modern Russia is a significant exemplification of the fact.

That those who stand for moral reform and orderly evolution in our social life shall have to pay much more attention than they have done heretofore to the education of the working classes in all that pertains to their present problems and their future welfare seems quite evident. And it can best be done in workers' classes or people's high schools organized for this very purpose. Only a bare outline can here be given of the topics that need study and elucidation. Experience will necessarily suggest others.

The first fact to realize in any fruitful discussion of economic reforms is that employers and employees are in the grip of a system that cannot be done away with over-

night, except by a successful revolution, the system of capital and labor, mutually antagonistic, not of necessity but as a matter of fact. Every sporadic outbreak of violence gives rise to a more or less copious outpouring of sentimentalism that makes every capitalist a tyrant and every worker a victim. The former is sometimes quite powerless to bring about desirable changes, and the latter is the victim only of his baser instincts. We are prone to condone labor's excesses on the plea that they are the unavoidable consequence of the still worse excesses of capitalism.

That argument would lead logically to this conclusion: that as long as capitalism does not reform its methods and its ways, which reform is in the indefinite future, labor need not look too closely at its own methods of self-defense. This is an obviously vicious circle. It establishes the jungle law of might and is fraught with awful possibilities. Reform must start somewhere. And if it is to start with the workers they must broaden their views and cease to follow blind precedents. The worker should learn to look with a clear, steady eye beyond the narrow sphere of his own craft at conditions as they are. The very fact that all around him there are men, once in the same subordinate position that he is in, who, by labor and thrift and foresight, have risen in the world and bettered their condition is more than a presumption that society of which he is a part is not radically out of joint. At least with us wealth and social position are not any one's exclusive birthright. Besides the possession of wealth and money is not the one goal of man's life. Nor is it an indispensable condition of happiness. However, the worker is absolutely and in all justice entitled to an adequate share of them.

Hence the principles of Christian ethics, upon which alone a fruitful and permanent system of social welfare can be founded, should form the fundamental course in a workers' school. The end of man attained by free will, the moral order and its sanction, natural law and positive law, the rights and duties of the individual towards life, liberty of work, of opinion, of conscience, towards property and ownership, towards the family and the State, should be briefly treated, but emphasized sufficiently to dispel the hazy notions that confuse so many minds and leave them without clear guidance, especially where the directive power of religion is lacking. To criticize unduly or to advertize the human shortcomings of labor is futile and harmful. Yet to take an unjust view, to acquiesce in an unjust view, or to act upon an unjust view of any one

or any policy because labor may be benefited thereby, is contrary to conscience, to Divine law, to morality. Ultimately it always reacts upon the worker. It produces the capitalist who is ever ready to fight unionism to the last ditch. And it produces the capitalist who never fights, yet always has his way: he has found that it is easier to buy a few union leaders to whom ready money means more than principle. With an obliquity of judgment that he thinks justified by the circumstances he deems it better policy to spend a little money, and to make certain of results, than to spend both time and money and leave the outcome of a fight in doubt. It produces the laborer who will vote to break a contract to force up wages and let his employer take the consequences, seemingly unaware of the odious injustice of his act, cynically countenanced by a majority. There are other examples in abundance to prove that a keen sense of justice is lacking all too frequently.

The next topic that suggests itself for consideration is that of modern industry in its essential aspects. The purpose of all industry is to gratify men's needs and men's pleasures. It is made up of two important factors: production and distribution. Production involves the gathering of raw materials from numerous sources and their conversion into articles for the use of man. No individual, no matter how able or thrifty, can produce even a small part of the many articles he requires for himself and for the members of his family. From different parts of the country and of the world raw materials must be brought together, and that in itself is a task of tremendous proportions, involving already a large trade and commerce. The interdependence of all modern industrial enterprises is so great that scarcely any of them can suffer or stagnate without the fact being reflected in many others. The influence of international tariffs, international disturbances, international exchange, on all industry and commerce, is always extensive, and often little known to the workers whose condition is most affected by it.

The worker ignores the cause but feels the effect, because of the more or less money he can earn in consequence. We all judge the value of things by a money standard. Yet money in itself has no value. It acquires value in so far as it can be used in exchange for labor, raw or finished goods. It is the easiest medium of exchange and is therefore taken in return for work or for the products of work. It can be used in turn to buy other men's work or the product of their work. Idle men and idle money are on the same plane. Just as the work of employed men is represented by wages, so is the work of employed money represented by interest. Wages and interest both go to make or to increase capital. Capital is stored-up labor.

The elements of all business then are represented by three factors: land with its surface and underground

yields, labor, and capital. The land and its wealth are the gifts of the Creator to man. Labor is that human activity which makes the land yield its wealth. Capital is that which makes labor possible and profitable. Capital is money, yet only in so far as this money will remunerate the laborer and provide him with the tools, the buildings, the machines that allow him to earn through production. Capital itself is originally the product of labor and is always dependent upon it for its continued usefulness. But labor must be understood to include both physical and mental exertion. Property rights are based upon the personal effort expended by a human being in acquiring or developing land and other commodities. By dint of false preachments the right of property has become so obscured in many minds that it needs to be stated clearly and its foundations justified.

With these essentials of morality, social economy, practical business and trade requirements well understood, the worker is evidently in a better position to defend his rights and to claim just wages without taking advantage of emergencies to extort excessive pay. His right to strike is as undeniable as his right to work. By abusing his most formidable weapon, the strike, the laborer may easily make more enemies than friends. The greater his enlightenment concerning the causes and probable results of a strike, the less frequently will he fall a victim to unscrupulous leaders who sell themselves and their men. Having nothing to lose, since their salaries go on even when their men are starving, those leaders fail to weigh the outcome and drive their men into strikes without issue, causing suffering to the workers and to the public at large.

Little is to be expected from following blindly present union leadership. The future of the labor movement lies in greater intellectual enlightenment among the rank and file of laborers, and a much more thorough understanding and application of the principles of morality involved in labor questions, labor strikes and wage issues. Labor has been copying capital very closely in its methods. Labor has been equally ready with the capitalist "to play the game to the limit," "to get while the getting is good," as the expression goes. Whatever capitalists may do, labor must get out of the rut, find its way to the light, and insist on justice in all its dealings no matter with whom. The hit-and-miss method of meeting an emergency by strike and violence does away with few abuses and leads to few reforms. The public is gouged, whatever the outcome. Between the capitalist-extortioner and the tyrannical labor leader it is driven into an attitude of despairing resignation. The rank and file of labor can do much to lift the strike above the level of a savage private quarrel with the capitalist, when they have knowledge and justice on their side. And they will find readier support among the masses to help them win their battles quickly and decisively, and this is the best of all advantages.

Referendum and Initiative in Ireland's Constitution

REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

The Fourth of a Series of Five Articles.

THE Chamber of Deputies has much greater legislative power than the Senate. Like the lower house in most other States, it alone may originate revenue bills. Unlike most other first Chambers, its authority over such measures is exclusive. Over all other legislation its power is restricted only by a temporary Senatorial veto and by certain provisions for a referendum to the people.

After introduction in the Chamber money bills must be sent to the Senate, but only for recommendations. Within fourteen days such a bill must be returned to the Chamber, "which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate, and as so passed it shall be deemed to have been passed by both Houses." Any other bill passed by the Chamber may be amended by the Senate, but if the amendments are rejected by the Chamber the bill becomes a law within 270 days after it reaches the Senate. Any such bill may be considered, but only for purposes of debate, by a joint committee of the two Houses. Hence, the Senate cannot exercise a final veto upon a bill passed by the Chamber. It can delay the enactment of a measure for 270 days in the regular course of things, and it can, by a three-fifths vote, require an enacted bill to be submitted to a popular vote. Bills having nothing to do with money may be initiated and passed by the Senate, but if they are rejected by the Chamber they may not be reintroduced at the same session. If amended by the Chamber, such bills acquire the status of bills introduced in the Chamber. In other words, the power of the Senate over legislation is merely that of discussion, advice, a limited veto, and an appeal to the people.

In a preceding article in AMERICA it was noted that the Parliament is to consist of two Houses and the King (Article 12). Just what is his power over legislation?

Article 40 provides that a bill which has passed both Houses shall be presented to the Representative of the Crown, i. e., the Governor General. He may either indicate the King's assent immediately, or "reserve the bill for the signification of the King's pleasure." This looks pretty bad, but the words just quoted are immediately followed by this sentence: "Provided that the Representative of the Crown shall, in the withholding of such assent to or the reservation of any bill, act in accordance with the law, practise and constitutional usage governing the like withholding of assent or reservation in the Dominion of Canada." Now "the law, practise and constitutional usage" of Canada in this matter prevent the

King from actually refusing his assent to a bill passed by the Dominion Parliament.

It has been asserted in some quarters that this veto power, which is given to the King with one hand only to be taken away with the other, was inserted in the Draft Constitution because of the Collins-De Valera pact. So many Tory members of the British Parliament professed to see in this agreement a repudiation, or at least a weakening, of the treaty that Lloyd George felt compelled to insist upon this piece of verbal juggling. In any case the "Royal Veto" has no practical significance. It gives the King no actual power over the legislation of the Free State Parliament. It is a mere form. If it gives some small comfort to British worshipers of a dead institution, what generous Irishman will have the heart to object or complain?

Article 43 empowers the Parliament to create subordinate legislatures with authority over purely local matters. Article 44 authorizes the Parliament to establish and determine the powers of "Functional or Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the nation." This is an extremely important provision, as it will enable the representatives of important interests, such as agriculture and labor, to make known their desires and views to Parliament in an authoritative manner. The Councils can also be entrusted with important duties of administration in their own provinces, and in general can give the Government valuable co-operation in all matters relating to their own departments of the national life. Of course, they can exercise no authority except that which is conferred upon them by Parliament. Article 45 gives the Parliament the exclusive right to raise, regulate, maintain and control the armed forces provided for in the treaty. Article 46 defines the scope of the referendum. All enactments of the Parliament, except those containing money provisions and those clothed by both Houses with an emergency character, can be suspended for ninety days on the demand of two-fifths of the members of the Chamber or a majority of the members of the Senate. Within the ninety-day period the enactment must be submitted to a popular referendum, if such be the demand of three-fifths of the Senators or one-twentieth of the registered voters. In such a referendum the decision of the people is conclusive. As already noted, this provision gives the Senate an important power of appeal to the people as against the Chamber of Deputies. Article 47 authorizes Parliament to establish the initiative. If Parliament does not exercise full

authority within two years after the Constitution comes into operation it can be compelled, by a petition of 100,000 voters, either to pass the necessary enabling act, or to submit the question to the people "in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the referendum." Once the institution is set up through either of these methods 50,000 voters will be able to initiate a proposal for a law. If the Parliament does not enact the proposal it must submit the proposal to a popular referendum. If the proposed measure is adopted by the Parliament it will have the same status as a law which is passed in the ordinary way.

The two distinctive points about the initiative are these: First, the Constitution does not establish it, but merely authorizes its establishment; second, the institution provided for is technically known as the "legislative," not the "popular," initiative; that is, the people do not vote directly upon the initiated measure unless and until it has been submitted to them by Parliament. It is to be observed that the initiative may be used for proposals of constitutional amendments as well as for ordinary statutes.

The Parliament may on its own motion submit proposals for constitutional amendments to the people. They will become part of the constitution only after they have been ratified by a majority of all the registered voters, or by two-thirds of those voters who express themselves upon the proposed amendment. The latter provision is better than the regulation in some of our States which requires a proposed amendment to obtain a majority of all the votes cast at an election.

Article 48 declares that the assent of Parliament is necessary for participation in any war, "save in the case of actual invasion." In such a crisis the power to begin war could be exercised by the executive. In any case it seems clear that no foreign State, not even Great Britain, has authority to bring the Irish Free State into a war.

Masons and Education

JAMES H. RYAN, PH.D.

FOR a long time back, Dame Rumor had credited the Masonic Fraternity with a definite national program on education. The evidence upon which this popular belief was founded was not of an altogether convincing character. What was but rumor last year, however, has been turned into something little short of certainty by the recent pronouncements of leading Masons. Mr. John W. Cowles, Supreme Master of the Thirty-third Degree, Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction, has publicly stated that the education program of the Southern Masons contains three planks: First, the creation of a national university at Washington; second, a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet; third, a compulsory public school attendance law for all children up to sixteen years of age. His organization is contributing the sum of \$200,000 to be spent yearly for propaganda purposes until these ideals are realized.

Mr. Cowles has also made vigorous appeals to the Northern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite Masons to approve his policies. That the Northerners are not altogether unsympathetic is proved by the statements on public education which appeared in the August number of the *Builder*, a national Masonic journal. The August issue of this journal is devoted entirely to a symposium of State Grand Masters on the public school. Thirty-one Masters, representing as many States and the District of Columbia, give their views as to the attitude which the Masons of America should take on the public school question. This symposium makes both interesting and illuminating reading. Divested of all secrecy, it openly and plainly states the Order's position on one of the vital questions in our national life.

An analysis of these pronouncements demonstrates that Masonry has a definite, clearly-defined legislative program relative to education. Individual Masons may not agree with the program as outlined and advocated by their leaders, and some of the leaders themselves do not accept it *in toto*. The spirit of American Masonry, however, is evident. It is anti-private school under the guise of being pro-public school. Or, to put it more exactly, it is against the private school because it considers that the only way to be pro-public school.

If the Masons of the United States wish to adopt a bellicose attitude towards private education, that is their own matter. Mr. Frederick Hamilton, Grand Secretary of the Masons of Massachusetts, considers it bad policy:

It is the duty of every Freemason to do everything that he can to help the cause of education in his community, in the State, and in the nation. This does not mean that the Masonic Fraternity, as an organization, should put itself behind any specific legislation or attempt to adopt an educational legislative program. Such a course would do more harm than good both to education and to Freemasonry. It would distinctly lower the plane of discussion and bring into it considerations and antagonisms which would be harmful in the extreme.

Catholics naturally are much interested in the reasons advanced by the Grand Masters to justify their opposition to the private school. The source of this opposition may be summed up in one sentence, the private school is undemocratic. "The parochial school draws a line of division across the community, and should therefore be eliminated," writes Herman Held of Minnesota. The private or parish school does not educate for citizenship, but to serve "some scheming interest at home or abroad." On the other hand, the public school is "the foundation stone of the liberties (sic) and the bulwark of our civilization." These reasons are repeated with constant uniformity by practically all the writers.

But is the private school un-American? Historically, it is not. The private school came with the first colonists. It has endured to the present day. No adverse criticism was ever made of its essential Americanism, nor could it be made justly, during the long period in our early history when the only education obtainable was that given under

private auspices. Free public education, tax-supported, as every one knows, is a recent development of our American democracy. The Fathers of our country, the Presidents, statesmen, thinkers, were practically all educated in private institutions. No one today questions their Americanism, nor the Americanism of the institutions which contributed so largely to making them what they were.

There is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, to justify the view that the mere establishment of a system of tax-supported schools outlaws the private school. Nor should the defenders of public education think that they strengthen their position by clamoring for the closing of all private schools. Since 1840 the two systems have developed together and along similar lines. It is difficult to understand, therefore, how the public school will benefit by the destruction of the private school, which up to this time has shown the way to public education, equaling its accomplishments in all things and surpassing them in many. Democracy, as it is understood and practised in the United States, does not entail the abolition of the private school. On the contrary, it should, as it has done in the past, foster private initiative in education. Not only will education itself profit by public appreciation of what private agencies are doing, but vital democracy will be strengthened and developed along lines conformable to our traditional concept of what its real nature is and what its functions should be.

The assertion so often made that attendance at the public school of rich and poor, black and white, make of it the only logical medium for training a democratic citizenship is pure sophistry. The private school can show an equally composite attendance group. Every parish school, especially in the large cities, is a small melting pot. This in itself means little or nothing. What does prove the essential democracy of the private school is the spirit of its teachings, the ideals of its teachers, and, above all things, its product, the men and women graduates who go out into the world prepared to live those ideals in their daily lives. We encounter these graduates everywhere. Some occupy the highest positions in the land, Senators, Representatives, leaders of both political parties, professors, scientists, business men. It would be a daring thing to accuse them of disloyalty or of lack of appreciation of our American democracy simply because they did not attend the public school. Of the graduates of Catholic schools, two in recent years have been held up as foremost examples of what real patriotism means. I refer to the late Chief Justice White and to the late Cardinal Gibbons. Ex-President Taft has said of Mr. White: "No judge ever sat on the supreme bench who was more deeply patriotic, more strongly American, more anxious for the welfare of his country." And of Cardinal Gibbons, President Harding has written: "He was the very finest type of citizen and churchman."

Neither do we agree with the doctrine that the only safe way to Americanize foreigners is to dump them pell-mell

into the public school hopper. The private school has been doing, without recompense, a great deal of effective Americanization work during the last one hundred years. Ignorance of the results which have been achieved is the only justification we can imagine for a person to write that "the public school is the only agency that can plant American ideals in the youth of the land." That "the public school is the *only* American school" has been repeated so often and so loudly that many accept this statement at its face value. It is, however, unjust both to the private school and to the history of American democracy. And I am convinced that the majority who make it know that it is unjust.

The defense and development of private education does not entail "opposition" to other methods of education, at least not amongst Catholics. Our philosophy on this point is quite clear. The Bishops' Pastoral says:

In accordance with this purpose [of the Constitution] the State has a right to insist that its citizens shall be educated. It should encourage among the people such a love of learning that they will take the initiative and, without constraint, provide for the education of their children. Should they, through negligence or lack of means, fail to do so, the State has the right to establish schools and take other legitimate means to safeguard its vital interests against the dangers which result from ignorance.

For our own children we demand and supply a religious education. We are not asking the State to help our schools financially, but we do expect it to keep hands off. The right to maintain and support a separate system of schools we claim to be both constitutional and democratic. Any abridgment of this right, even on the plea of promoting thereby the development of public education, would be harmful to democracy and to the best interests of America herself.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler summarizes well the enlightened American point of view when, in writing about the proposed Oregon anti-parish school law, he states:

This measure should be entitled "A Bill to Make Impossible the American System of Education in Oregon." It is fundamentally un-American in principle and purpose and should be overwhelmingly defeated. In our American theory, the State steps in, not to monopolize education or to attempt to cast all children in a common mold, or forcibly to deprive them of all religious training and instruction, but merely to prevent damage to itself. It offers a free opportunity to every child to receive elementary education, and usually much more than that, in tax-supported schools. But it is in no sense the business of the State, in our American political philosophy, to attempt to monopolize education or to prevent the freest choice by parents of the teachers and schools of their children.

The Catholic people of the United States are firm in the purpose to protect their rights to educate their children religiously. In this they are acting as good Catholics, good Americans, good democrats. They view, not so much with alarm as with chagrin, the efforts which are being made by some thoughtless friends of public education to line up the different elements of our population against the private and parish school. In that direction lie misunderstandings, rancors, hatred, strife. Democracy

needs peace, harmony, understanding, especially now when its very existence is threatened by powerful forces, both from within and without. May we suggest that American Freemasonry think long and deeply before it approves the program of Mr. Cowles and his brother propagandists? "Such a course would do more harm than good both to education and to Freemasonry," says Mr. Hamilton in a timely warning. "It would distinctly lower the plane of discussion and bring into it considerations and antagonisms which would be harmful in the extreme."

Censorship and the Secular Magazines

F. E. SMITH

IT is quite evident to anyone who reads, either at first hand or through the medium of the reviews, anything of our modern books and current publications, that a great change is taking place in the type of literature that is being written and read. This is obvious, not only in the novel and the shorter forms of fiction, but, in a lesser degree, in material that is not fiction as well. Our popular magazines, as well as our popular books, are undergoing a transformation; and voices are frequently raised to proclaim the change not a wholesome one.

Whether this is an entirely fair criticism or not, I am not prepared to say. I am inclined to believe that it is; that the feeling which has found expression in the demand for a public censor of printed matter, whether the public censor is the solution of the problem or not, is fundamentally sound. But six years of almost uninterrupted connection with the editorial end of some phase or other of present-day literature has taught me the value of a sort of censorship that is too often unrecognized by those who have it in their power to exert it.

The first secular magazine with which I had an editorial connection was most punctilious about "cutting" from all their stories and articles any parts that might prove objectionable to a large body of their readers. The explanation was rather amusing and decidedly significant.

It seemed that several years before, the editors, quite innocently, had published a story to which some one of our Church societies had objected. A society had taken up the matter with the result that the editors had suddenly found their magazine banished from all the newsstands in a certain large Middle Western city, and hundreds of copies of it thrown back on their hands.

One could have wished that the retribution had fallen upon some of the many people more deserving of it, for in this case ignorance rather than malice had been responsible for the story's appearance. But the lesson was a salutary one. The memory of it, I think, played a considerable part in keeping that magazine's fiction noticeably clean; and such age-old calumnies of the Church as came into the office, in the manuscripts of bigoted contributors, disappeared as fast as an editorial blue pencil could expurgate them!

I never saw the objectionable story myself; it had been published and forgotten long before my day. Whether the drastic measures that were taken were justified or not, I do not know. In any event, they *were* drastic, too much so, of course, to be resorted to in the majority of cases.

But all readers have it in their power to voice their own, individual approval or disapproval of the material printed in their favorite magazines or issued by their favorite book publishers, and the effect of this approval or disapproval is particularly noticeable in the case of the magazines, which must largely exist, from year to year, on the good will of their subscribers. There are very few editors who can afford to select what they buy entirely on the grounds of personal preference. Most of them study the temper of their reading public with far more eagerness than that reading public suspects. I have known one intelligently written letter of complaint to cast a gloom over an entire staff; and I recall one instance in which several such letters of complaint, just complaint, and recognized as just by the editorial and business departments of a magazine, led to the practical banishment of a certain author's name from further numbers of a publication.

Editors, in general, are nice people. Many of them have high ideals and a real sense of their responsibility to their public. But editors are human, and all of them have an overwhelming respect for the lengthening or shortening of their subscription lists, which usually has a direct bearing upon their own tenure of office. After all, there are few magazine owners who can afford to get out a publication for the sheer joy of publishing it and entirely without thought of financial returns.

We must recognize, of course, the fact that there are certain publications which are planned to appeal to the class of readers who demand the lurid, the sacrilegious and the obscene. If we find it consistent with Christianity and decency to read them, well, we do! And we need not expect that any objection of ours will make them over. They have their established circles of readers. If they had not such circle, they would not have come into existence.

I am referring particularly to the old, family favorites in the magazine field. Many of these are remaining true to their conservative standards. Perhaps they are publishing rather franker material than they published a decade ago. Perhaps their portrayal of modern society is so true as to be somewhat shocking. But fundamentally they are decent and sound; and it is only occasionally that they deserve rebuke.

This, of course, is not true of all of them. There is, for example, one publication that has a splendid record for decent and conservative fiction and articles and verse, but which seems recently to have become overtly hostile to Catholicism. In a single recent number I noticed two stories and one article that were too bitterly insulting to

the Church to have slipped past the editorial censor by accident. I have never been a subscriber to that particular periodical. If I had been, I think that I should not wait for my subscription to expire, but should cancel it at once and with a letter emphatic enough to leave no doubt of my reason for doing so. Probably a fair percentage of the readers of that magazine are Catholics. Probably the majority of them resent its new policy as much as I do. But I wonder how many of them are letting the editorial staff of it know that they do resent that policy.

What I have just written has, of course, its converse. Approval means as much to editors as it does to other human beings. An encouraging letter to a magazine that is making an honest effort for decency encourages a continuance of that policy. And a *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of readers of one that is not making such an effort, is the encouragement that breeds more objectionable material. "If," says an editor, in the unacademic phraseology that even editors are apt to use in moments of stress, "we got away with such and such a story, we can get away with this." And "if," says an author, "my last 'sexy' or irreligious or morbid story did not bring the expected complaints from my publishers, I can venture on another a bit more off-color." And the sad part of it is that generally he can do so, and, of course, frequently he does do so.

Writing letters takes time, I own. It is easier simply to shrug one's shoulders and wonder what the world is coming to and why something is not done about it, or to drift lazily with the tide of at-the-moment popular thought and regard those who are brave enough to try to protect their standards and ours against it as old-fashioned and narrow.

Perhaps, after all, we Americans, we Catholic Americans included, do need to hire someone to do our thinking for us. I do not know!

Legislative Absolutism

JEROME ELMER MURPHY

FOUR cases, the first group of what promises to be a numerous progeny born of the hasty and ill-considered legislation enacted in the wake of the war, have been entered upon the docket of the Supreme Court of the United States. Three of these involve the constitutionality of the laws of Nebraska and Ohio forbidding the teaching or the use of a foreign language in the primary schools of those States, laws aimed principally at the German language. The other is an original action brought by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to have the Sheppard-Towner act, the so-called Maternity act, set aside as unconstitutional and void.

These four cases show, happily, that a reaction has set in against the tendency on the part of legislatures, State and national, to slip constitutional moorings. But the struggle is only beginning. Time has disclosed the absurdities of the anti-German language laws, enacted

after the war, it is true, but while the animosities it aroused were still strong. The Maternity act has been subjected to no such test, and it is the first of a procession of measures based upon the same principle, the adoption of which may lead to catastrophic consequences.

As the Attorney General of Massachusetts says in his bill of complaint:

There is now pending in Congress a bill to create a Department of Education and to authorize the appropriation of money to the States, known as the Sterling-Towner Education bill, calling for an annual expenditure of one hundred million dollars from the Federal treasury, to be apportioned among those States which accept its benefits and appropriate equal amounts; that there is also pending legislation to create a Department of Public Welfare, which contains no stated appropriation, but is understood to call for the expenditure of immense sums of money; that, unless checked by this Court on the ground of unconstitutionality, no limit can be foreseen to the amounts which may be thus expended for matters of local concern by statutes providing for the establishment of large Federal bureaus with many officers for the performance of duties which are entirely beyond any authority conferred upon the United States by the Constitution.

The lesson taught by the State laws now under scrutiny by the Supreme Court are plain enough to serve as a warning of what may be expected if legislatures are to go on disregarding the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution. The Nebraska and Ohio language-laws were both passed after the war had ended, but in the brief time that has elapsed since their enactment they have become grotesque commentaries upon the foresight of the legislatures responsible for them. In the light of calmer judgment they illustrate the absurdities to which legislators and bureaucrats may go in prescribing or restricting the curricula of schools.

The Ohio case grows out of the conviction of a teacher and member of the board of trustees of a Lutheran school of Garfield Heights, Cuyahoga County. The Nebraska district of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod appears as the petitioner in the Nebraska case. The Ohio law prohibits the teaching of any language other than English in the eight grades of the primary schools. The Nebraska law prohibits the use of a foreign language in teaching any subject.

These laws were enacted when German propaganda was still an obsession. How much of an obsession it was is reflected in the message of the Governor of Ohio, James M. Cox, to the legislature, insisting that the act then under consideration be made applicable to all schools, not public schools alone:

This bill [he said] is based upon the idea that the teaching of German to the tender youth of the State is a menace to the ideals of the Republic, and yet it protects only the children in the public schools. The naked truth is that the ingenious phrase of this bill springs from disloyalty somewhere. Some one seeks to create a sheltered spot where treason can grow under cover of the law.

"If any person in Ohio wants his child indoctrinated with the Prussian creed," Governor Cox gravely concluded, "let our safeguards be such that he must go elsewhere for it."

Governor Cox and the Ohio legislators were not the only ones who feared that children might be inoculated with the poison supposed to lurk in the German abc's. The Nebraska law made it a misdemeanor to "teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language." The effect of this prohibition was somewhat startling, as was shown by the testimony of John Siedlik, an American of Polish nativity, who appeared as an intervener in the case. Siedlik's children attended the St. Francis' School, a Catholic parish school in Omaha, the pupils of which were admitted to the high schools without examination after passing the eighth grade. The Siedlik children spoke only Polish. Consequently they had to be taught in the earlier grades in that language. But the law forbade this. The door to their advancement was effectively closed by legislative enactment.

Counsel for the plaintiffs in the Nebraska case rightly asserted that:

An institution that can take a child that lives in a home where only Polish is spoken and can train it in the first eight years in the English language so that it can enter a high school of the city of Omaha without examination is a useful institution.

Nevertheless the law decreed otherwise, and the teachers of St. Francis' School were liable to fine or a jail sentence if they continued in their work of preparing children of foreign extraction for the high schools and the duties of American citizenship.

Whether or not the United States Supreme Court finds these laws unconstitutional, their effects have been so grotesque that they ought to serve as a warning to legislatures to let others arrange the courses of study for schools. But the real danger is more deep-seated. "The matter," as Justice Letton, of the Nebraska Supreme Court, said, "is of grave importance, since it involves the question as to the extent that a legislature may infringe upon fundamental rights and liberty of the citizen protected by the State and Federal Constitutions." In other words, the chief point at issue is not the muddling of legislatures in this one case, but whether legislatures may continue to muddle, restricting fundamental rights which existed before the Constitution and which were recognized by the Fathers who formulated them in the Constitution that they might be safeguarded.

The protest of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against the Shepard-Towner bill presents a different aspect of a case which is essentially the same, for there is no fundamental difference between bureaucracy tampering with education and legislatures tampering with it.

Legislatures have a habit of sowing the wind and letting the Supreme Court reap the whirlwind. They are not given to confessing error by repealing stupid or dangerous legislation. That responsibility they place upon the judicial branch if it can be done. This group of cases should constitute a warning to popular opinion to be on the alert against a tendency which has already been shown

to be foolish in the Ohio and Nebraska cases and which may prove to be dangerous if it continues. As counsel for the plaintiffs say in the Ohio case:

There is in this country a constant and growing endeavor, encroaching more and more upon the domain of individual liberty, to establish as a fundamental that an American citizen possesses such rights only as a legislative majority permits. This theory may be well enough in a country whose Constitution is implied in its institutions and customs, and where the popular interpretation of the Constitution overrides the juristic interpretation. It has no place with us, where life, liberty, equality and property are guaranteed and safeguarded in the written primordial law.

These are splendid words and brave, too, at this time.

COMMUNICATIONS

The Editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department.

An Advertising Campaign

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The Marquette General Assembly, Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus of Aurora, Illinois, is starting a six months' advertising campaign on the order of the Pittsburgh campaign started over a year ago. It is the purpose of the Assembly to run these advertisements in approximately twenty-two papers in the district. We have sixty-five advertisements written in proper order to go to press at intervals of three issues a week.

We would also be very glad to cooperate with any other organizations or Councils of Knights of Columbus that wish to start a similar campaign. They can secure further information by writing L. H. Pompa, 213 Plum Street, Aurora, Illinois.

LEROY H. POMPA.

College Athletes and Others

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In an editorial, entitled "The College Athlete," which appeared in *AMERICA* for September 30 there occurs the following statement: "If a survey were made of the alumni lists of our colleges it would bring out some interesting facts regarding the after-career of the college athlete." A most valuable suggestion is contained in that statement. I believe that it has a wider application than merely to athletes; it has its application to all the students that have attended college even though they have not been graduated, and to high school students as well. The authorities in the average college and high school are so busy with courses and credits, with campaigns for improvements and new buildings, with catalogues and text-books and all the other machinery of an educational institution that little or no time is left to check up on the institution's products. What would be said of a manufacturer who is satisfied with having the brass knobs and brass railings in his factory brightly polished, who is pleased when he sees the machinery in motion and all the big wheels turning but never gives a thought to the product turned out and to what becomes of it?

We might attack the problem of checking up on our Catholic educational institutions in another way by finding out who are the leaders of Catholic thought and action in our respective communities, in our parishes and our societies, for example in the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Holy Name Society, Central Society, National Council of Catholic Men and Women, Big Brothers, Knights of Columbus, etc. We might inquire who are our Catholic writers and speakers, the promoters of charitable undertakings and of social reform in accordance with the principles laid down by the Holy See. If our Catholic educational institutions, especially our Catholic colleges supply their quota, it would be good to know that. That would be a strong talking point in favor of Catholic

higher education. But if the colleges do not supply we should know that too and try to find out the reasons why.

Chicago.

A. SPARKS.

Why So Few Converts?

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Apropos of the discussion, "Why So Few Converts," may the observance and experience of one born and reared in the Faith venture a diagnosis?

Convert, as a term, does not necessarily mean proselyte. The soul whose ancestral heritage is the Catholic Faith but devoid of the grace of God, is the besetting subject for conversion. But whether the subject be of the Fold or of the "high-ways and by-ways," quoting the *Living Church*, a non-Catholic contemporary, brings us nearer the point: "We yearn for the reunion of Christendom, when all who worship God shall be one, visibly partakers of the One Bread. The Apostolic priesthood is essential; nor can it be exercised by one not 'ordained to that holy function.' " *Tu es Sacerdos in Aeternum*" that Eternal Priesthood is the nucleus, the magnetism of souls craving for the "One Bread."

The impressions of A. I. P., the New York non-Catholic physician, gleaned from one pulpit of the Church, elicit the criticism: "There is something wrong with your Church. When Catholics feel they will have a sermon and not a discourse filled with invective they will invite their friends and converts will come." Unfortunately his experience is narrowed to the personality of one priest in the pulpit with unhappy result. But to controvert the "thirty minutes' diatribe because some one came to Confession a few minutes after the usual hour" we vouch for the veracity of a Pittsburgh physician, who, going to Confession "after the usual hour" and finding the church closed, called the priest out of bed and was granted a hearing.

Converts began with Christianity. What made converts in the time of Christ? The craving of the human heart—the milk of human kindness that flowed from the simplicity, humility and sweet personality of the Saviour who had "compassion on the multitude." How many a wistful soul is sent adrift or goes to the depths for want of compassion where he should find it? Too true the Sunday discourse instead of an appeal to the stray sheep or one not of the Fold is an invective creating despair and bitterness. Too often the pulpit is used as a means of exploiting personal opinion instead of to "Preach the Gospel to every creature."

I have been an auditor of one pulpit for twenty years. Annually apropos of the graduation season we have a discourse, "Educate the boy; the girl has no ambition but marriage," contradicting God's revelation and the Church's definition of respect for womanhood and reverence for motherhood, clearly portrayed in the Fourth Commandment. The zeal of this speaker for converts often lays the blame for lack of them at the daily lives of Catholics; yet looking for the mote in the eye of his neighbor he overlooks the beam in his own. For any defense of his character, which springs from very strong faith, innate loyalty to one's pastor, or whatever by the grace of God it might be, is defeated by concession to the charges of my neighbor in the Faith whose non-Catholic husband, deliberating, cannot accept a religion which honors the Mother of God in its doctrines and contradicts it in society.

The souls of all men hung in the balance while Heaven waited with the Angel Gabriel for Mary's consent to be the instrument of Redemption. True womanhood holds that her prerogative of recognizing or not the man whom she will, is the heritage of "our tainted nature's solitary boast." The gentleman who is paid the compliment of woman's recognition has always acknowledged it by respectfully uncovering his head in response. Is the priest, whose soul shares in the fruits of redemption, exempt from honoring "what the world owes to woman"?

Some months ago we find (with all due reverence), a notable Pittsburgh priest winning notice by the statements: "Men are

nearly twice as good as women; because more of them have been canonized." Could we imagine greater arrogance? He cannot deny that Divine economy provides that men decide who shall be canonized or that nearly every man canonized led a public, though saintly life. We dare believe that heaven holds myriads of uncanonized female Saints who led obscure lives of sacrifice and devotion, doing their duties where they found them and whose shining virtue was humility, observing God's command to "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Ah no! A. I. P., there is nothing "wrong with the Catholic Church." Its doctrines and ceremonies are resplendent with the beauties of Heaven, but the priesthood, our most valued Christian inheritance, must needs be recruited from men and let the strong faith of one long in the fold assure you those who have yet to "learn of Me because I am meek and humble of heart" are of the very small minority.

Would that we might write across the sky: "Be humble, let us so live in all truth as to be an inspiration, strength and blessing to those whose lives are touched by ours."

Pittsburgh.

O'C.

To the Editor of AMERICA:

If the discussion of the question "Why So Few Converts?" is not yet officially closed, and surely the importance of the subject fully warrants its prolongation, I would like to add a few words.

To my mind the reasons alleged by the five-year convert and A. I. P., the non-Catholic physician, are the most striking and furnish us an opportunity of "seeing ourselves as others see us." If the former were a convert of the vintage of 1855, he might be still more astonished by the tremendous development of the so-called "business side of religion" and might discover that the variety of methods and customs in different parishes are as wide as the difference between "High" and "Low" Church Episcopalians. Fifty, nay, twenty-five years ago, the announcement of a "dance" from the altar would have created an uproar. Today it attracts no more attention in some places than the announcement of a card-party, an ice-cream festival, or a parish picnic.

Though it is encouraging to learn from Mr. Patrick J. McCarthy that there is at least one church in the great city of New York where Dr. A. I. P. might attend "a Catholic Sunday school for grown-ups," yet it is only too true that there are, on the other hand, hundreds of thousands of Catholics who though they go to Mass every Sunday, never hear a sermon from one year's end to the other simply because at the Masses which circumstances compel them to attend there is no sermon or instruction of any kind. How can such Catholics "be proud of their Faith" if they never hear it explained to them?

There is still another "stone of offense" to many non-Catholics who visit our churches, namely the vagaries of our choirs. Non-Catholics for the most part are accustomed to congregational singing in which each one joins in proportion to his fervor. But in our Catholic churches they are often shocked by the frivolous character of the music and the operatic solos of the singers. The effect can best be illustrated by a story received from the lips of a prima donna. She had a favorite so-called "offertory"-solo entitled "*Gaudeamus*." On one occasion her own Archbishop meekly inquired if she did not think it was a little too "florid" for a cathedral service. On being assured of the purity of her motives he informed her it might be tolerated so long as she, but no one else, sang it. But a Protestant visitor who listened to it was by means so lenient. After Mass he remarked to his Catholic host that it was the first time he ever heard "swearing in church." Pressed for an explanation he exclaimed: "Why, didn't you hear that lady singing 'God damn us! God damn us!!' " Fortunately, his Catholic friend was sufficiently instructed and had the presence of mind to explain that the word sung was: "*Gaudeamus*," Latin for "Let us rejoice!"

White-Bear Lake, Minn.

WM. F. MARKOE.

AMERICA

A - CATHOLIC - REVIEW - OF - THE - WEEK

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1922

Entered as second-class matter, April 15, 1909, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 29, 1918.

Published weekly by The America Press, New York.
President, RICHARD H. TIERNEY; Secretary, JOSEPH HUSLEIN;
Treasurer, GERALD C. TREACY.

SUBSCRIPTIONS, POSTPAID:
United States, 10 cents a copy; yearly, \$4.00
Canada, \$4.50 Europe, \$5.00

Address:
Suite 4847, Grand Central Terminal, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.
Telephone: Murray Hill 1635
CABLE ADDRESS: CATHREVIEW

Stamps should be sent for the return of rejected manuscripts.

The Souls in Duress

SOCIAL work is the great demand of our age. As in the days of Ozanam, so now men test our Faith by the expression we give to it in social deeds. There is social work in the tenements, factories and at home, there is social work in the wide regions of the Catholic missions abroad, there is social work in the famine-stricken areas of Europe where our gifts may bring relief from misery and starvation. In all these fields the Catholic can be active, but there is still another sphere of human suffering to which his charity must go out, the state of Purgatory, from which no tabulated accounts, in figures and statistics, will ever reach us of the anguish there endured, but where we know that our help is most greatly needed. To the souls there imprisoned, until they have atoned for the least and the last of their transgressions, unless our charity comes to their aid, we are bound by social ties in the greatest of all societies, the Communion of the Saints. To them, too, must our social work extend.

It was this thought that St. Francis de Sales so beautifully suggested and developed when he said that in bringing relief to the poor souls in Purgatory we practise almost all the works of mercy at one and the same time. We are thus offering true comfort and consolation to those in sorrow. We are assisting by our deeds the afflicted whom the hand of the Lord has touched. We are entering the prison-house of Divine justice, and by our Masses and prayers are lightening the chains of the prisoners, or breaking their bonds to set them free. We are practising hospitality, not indeed by inviting these friends of God to enter under our own roof-tree, but by assisting them to pass from their abode of pain into the home of Our Father who is in Heaven, into the mansions of His glory into which we ourselves hope to enter. There they will await us, but first

will they repay a thousandfold our gentle services by their mighty intercession at the Throne of God.

We are, in fine, clothing the naked, not in poor earthly garments, such as we might bestow upon the beggar at our gate, but in robes of unfading splendor. For we know them now to be pining in pitiful anguish and poverty, divested of the comfort, joy and brightness that had once been theirs in life. The love of God indeed still remains with them, but this is the greatest of all their torments that they now long for Him with untold yearnings, yet cannot reach Him unless our efforts hasten the day of their release. Thus can we exercise towards these our brethren the social works of mercy. It is not because of our own strength that we achieve these marvels of charity, but by the mercy of God which applies according to His Divine love and wisdom the offerings that we make for them.

To know in full the secrets of God's prison-house is not given to us here, but we can well understand how great beyond our comprehension those sufferings must be where the souls that departed in the Divine grace are still to be purified in the chastening justice of an infinitely pure and holy God, until every least stain of earthly vanity, every last remnant of the dross and stubble of life has been cleansed away. They "shall be saved, yet so as by fire." By the greatness of their agony and the greatness of God's love for these souls we can estimate the greatness of that charity that now comes to their relief and performs for them all those sweet offices of mercy we have just described. They are the friends of God, His Saints in duress. Thrice blessed therefore are the merciful who show them mercy, for God will bestow in return the gifts of His mercy on them.

Near-Artists

THE near-artist is found filling the pages of our magazines and daily papers with his cry for self-expression. "Art for art's sake" is his ready excuse for placing before the public books and plays and stories that depict the baser things in human nature as if they were normal and the finer things as if they were the exception. Nowhere in modern literature is the near-artist more in evidence than in the realm of fiction. For modern fiction in the main calls for a happy ending, and the happy ending is the near-artist's forte. Love of course must be the strong current running through endless dialogue and highly punctuated descriptive passage, and "love justifies everything" is the common preachment back of the many books that come tumbling off the presses week after week, and season after season. Shrieking advertisements and gaudy book jackets, and the same old chord is twanged upon, as false as it is old. Once in a great while a real artist arises and writes a novel of real life and pure love, and it is eagerly read by a patient public tired of the theme of wonderful men who love other men's wives and charming women who love other women's husbands. But remember that is once in a while.

For the most part the reading public is in the hands of near-artists whose minds are warped, whose moral perceptions are dulled or deadened, or who have the vices of paganism and none of its virtues. It would be a splendid thing if we had in this country an accredited school of sane literary criticism. It would spell the end of the near-artist. Lacking that, we still have courts for the enforcement of the law against lewd language. And language now appears between book covers that would not be tolerated from living voices in decent American homes. Yet it invades those homes in the name of art and love and life, and under the guise of literature made attractive by pretty pictures and expensive bindings boys and girls listen to it much more attentively than they listen to the spoken word. In fact the spoken word would repel and disgust them, the written word grips them and drops its poison into their souls. This is the crime of the near-artist. He destroys the soul of youth. For youth is trustful, believing, impressionable, and readily accepts lewdness for frankness, if it is colored by half-truths and "everybody is reading it."

There is a sentence in Aristotle's "Politics" that might well be hung over the doors of publishing houses. It is wise with the wisdom of age and fraught with the power of truth. "Altogether," says Aristotle, "if there is one thing the legislator should banish from the city it is filthy talk, for upon random and reckless talk of lewd things there follows close the doing of the same." If publishing houses remembered this we would be well on the way toward the development of real literature. If the courts realized its import they would find it helpful in deciding whether the license of near-artists is paramount to the safeguarding of the future citizenry of the nation. And if parents acted up to it they would clean up library tables.

Statesmanship and Tact

A FEW days since the gentleman who represents the United States at the Court of St. James, asked the British "Authors' Club" if women had souls and proceeded to answer his own question negatively. Forthwith the ladies of two continents took issue with him, some calmly, some hysterically, but all fruitlessly. For, after all, Mr. Harvey is a grim creature, a wag, some say, and may have been indulging his wit in the mode of another New Englander, whose quips reminded Sydney Smith of the "whisking of an elephant." And who can match, much less overmatch, such capers? Surely not gentle women, unless perchance they are Dianas with full quivers.

If, however, the Ambassador were not joking, no man or woman on earth can possibly answer him. There is a limit beyond which wisdom cannot pursue folly and Mr. Harvey went far beyond that line, even to the border of "Wonderland." True, papers announced that he spoke "with amazing learning," "with unsurpassed erudition," but it was newspaper learning and Sunday-supplement erudition, which by the purest accident sometimes in-

serts a half-truth in six pages of errors. The Ambassador's half-truth will undoubtedly be found some day after his pile of misstatements has been well raked over.

But, for once, women have not called their native intuition to their aid. They are attacking Mr. Harvey the wrong way; they should change their tactics immediately and get the Ambassador to call a plenary council of the women of his household—the cook and her assistant in the front row—and tell them that they have no souls and are forthwith released from observance of the Ten Commandments. Ten or twelve days after this speech the body of the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James will be laid to rest in an obscure New England cemetery, for the joke is bad and deserves condign punishment.

A Word to Timorous Catholics

THE Church is Divine, and the "gates of hell" shall not prevail against it. Why then these innumerable letters to editors of Catholic papers, demanding that they "do something" to protect the parish schools, to check the Ku Klux, to extirpate the I. W. W. and so on through a long series of wos? After all editors realize their limitations, whether these be imposed by nature or superimposed by authority. And above all else, they know that not they, but the Bishops, are charged by the Holy Ghost with the government of the Church. To the Ordinaries, then, Catholics must look for official action in time of danger.

Then, too, editors appreciate the value of the persecutions which the Church of America experiences every decade or so. Opposition, covert or otherwise, is splendid, the fiercer the better; it winnows the chaff from the wheat; and leaves the Church stronger than ever. There is little or nothing to fear from any persecution except that which comes through legislation, and this Catholics can control by their ballot, if they desire to do so. But they do not care to do so; and therein lies the whole difficulty. Catholics, like thousands of other Americans, are so lacking in political foresight that they misuse the vote shamelessly. How else explain the present and past existence of a Congress that is so cowardly and platitudinous that it is a byword amongst the people of the earth? Who sent these men to the council halls of the nation? The people of the country, Catholics included. Who retain them, there? The people of the nation, Catholics included. And this, despite the fact that most of our troubles begin in Washington, for Congressional incapacity leads to reckless extravagance, extravagance to high taxes, high taxes to poor workmen, poor workmen to Bolshevism, Bolshevism to riots—and the story leads to Congress once again, and from Congress to the people, Catholics included, thus making pertinent the question: Why do not Catholics "do something" to save the country? And that "something" is to keep in, or to put into, Congress honest, fearless men, Walsh of Massachusetts, King of Utah, ex-Senator Thomas of Colorado, Borah of Idaho, and others like them.

Literature

Character Drawing in the Novel and the Play

AS was seen in our first paper, there is a vast difference between creating a character and merely copying one. The drama is for the ordinary man; if it goes beyond the apprehension of this man it must present material that he can partly grasp. There is much in "Hamlet" that is beyond the intellectual grasp of even the half-gods, but there is also that which delights the boy in the gallery. Extreme depth in dramatic poetry is also permissible when the treatment is broad and vividly concrete. There is poetry, however, so spiritual that the skilled critic is obliged to read it slowly, and such work is lost in dramatic presentation. This is not the fault of the ordinary poetic drama; there feebleness and vagueness masquerade as strength, concreteness, and depth; glittering verse is but studio raiment on a professional model posing as Thalia or Melpomene. Poetry that is not dramatic may legitimately rise above the ordinary man, and to be really great it must rise to that level; dramatic poetry, however, necessarily has also a popular quality. The novel may be popular and at the same time be truly artistic, but it may also be so great as to be unpopular, like George Meredith's work, for example; but a drama that is unpopular from sheer subtlety or depth of thought is a failure. Poetry as such may set forth the material found by the most profound researches of the intellect; dramatic poetry is obliged to present tangible facts as material, and even the public can hold a large understanding of facts. The play or novel that is completely understood by the ordinary man is always shallow, although here, as was said, we may find artistic merit. Water is water in a cup as in the Atlantic Ocean, and that cupful can relieve thirst even if it floats no argosies.

Characterization may be nothing more than a man's name upon which are fastened a large number of avaricious, sentimental, amatory, grandiose, or similar actions. Such deeds are not the outgrowth of character, but of a tendency in the author to make collections of facts more or less human, and group these about a puppet. Traits peculiar to professions, to clergymen, lawyers, soldiers, physicians, the manners of social castes, of races, nations, provinces, when closely observed and copied pass ordinarily for characterization. There is a country, for example, that replaces the "Great American Desert," which was on the maps about the time of the Civil War. All novels written of that country narrate the deeds of one manikin, who lives in a saddle until he has become bow-legged, wears a sombrero, a bandanna handkerchief about his neck, a chappe, high-heeled boots, clanging spurs, a woolen shirt, and one or two "guns" in holsters. He uses a copious indirect speech, full of bizarre similes. He is machine-made, standardized like American hardware,

and he can be screwed upon any novel manufactured west of the Mississippi River.

We find a stationary character in fiction, like Horatio in "Hamlet," who does not change or develop, but he may be a clearly defined being. These stationary characters are commonly minor personages. The great characters develop, grow, become wiser, more liberal or charitable, as they advance in the book. They may develop through a struggle—Adam Bede, for example, or Henry Esmond. John Halifax develops through prosperity, Silas Marner through adversity, Dinah Morris through religious influence, Colonel Newcome by mere advancing years. Other characters develop by deterioration, like Anna Karenina, Emma Bovary, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, and Tito Melema.

A character may be presented by inference from what he says and does. This is the most difficult method. He may also be presented by inference from deeds. In even good characterization there is often a trace of exaggeration of the skeletal or typical trait; it is not literally true to nature; it sets things under a limelight. In life Othello would not be forever in a fit of jealousy, nor would Macbeth have no remission of ambition. The drama resembles history: it is likely to keep Napoleon on horseback forever like a bronze statue, to make him only a soldier, whereas he was also a great legislator. Molière was partial to the method of characterization which takes an abstract quality, avarice, vanity, or the like, gathers all the actions to which the quality gives rise, and sets a lay-figure labeled with a name to do these actions. Finally accidental mannerisms, or copies from the manners of actual men are added, which color the method of performing the actions, and thus the character grows. He deals with individuals, except in a few comedies like "Les Femmes Savantes," and "Les Précieuses Ridicules." Congreve and the writers of his time in England neglect the individual to present and ridicule the fashions and manners of the day. There is consequently a tendency to shallowness in their characterization.

A man is individualized by that in him which interests us; and a quality to interest us must be better, worse, or stranger than the commonplace. A character then should be distinct by peculiarities or heightened notes. Here again contrast in characters helps toward distinctness: Othello and Iago, Octavio and Max Piccolomini, Joseph and Charles Surface. Another method of treatment which makes for distinctness is to lay final stress upon the deed rather than the motive. The deed is to proceed from the motive or the character, otherwise we have not genuine drama; but a deed is more vivid than a motive and this concreteness makes a deeper impression. Shakespeare presents men as acting among men; the motive and the

characters are there, but commonly inferred. Browning develops the motive primarily and the deed secondarily. He publishes his preliminary notes with the text; Shakespeare leaves his notes at home, and his treatment while apparently external is really a consequence of internal insight. Ibsen works carefully on the preliminary notes, and then uses only the results. In "Cyrano de Bergerac" the cheap theatric rattle of musketry at the siege is very grateful after the preceding psychology and gathered notes. Shakespeare shows us the electric light; Maeterlinck, Rostand, Browning and others show us the fireman eating bread to give him strength to shovel coal to heat the steam to run the dynamo to make the electricity in the house that Jack built. This last method makes the critic's work easy, but it is not so effective on the stage. That Shakespeare leaves his notes at home sets the critic guessing, and gives the poet a reputation for profundity where often the truth lies near the surface.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY, M.D.

THREE FALLEN LEAVES

INDIAN SUMMER

Golden snow on the fading green
Of wood and field aglint with light
Of Indian summer—the noon between
An autumn's morning and a winter's night.

THE GRAVE'S CROSS

The grave is at the Cross-Roads. Parting here
We are as those who may not go astray,
Since lights of stellar casements are so near
The finger-post that points us on our way.

DEATH

To all, Death is a vague necessity:
To most, a thoughtful subject they would shun.
But Death to some, with whom my soul would be,
Is Fear and Love, the Wisdom-wedded One.

FRANCIS CARLIN.

REVIEWS

Bishop Barlow and Anglican Orders. A Study of the Original Documents. By ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.

The Catholic Church teaches that in order to be valid the Sacrament of Orders must fulfil two essential conditions. It must be conferred or transmitted, (1) by one who himself is a validly consecrated Bishop and (2) with the proper rite and a genuine intention. In other words, as expressed by theologians, there must be a valid transmitter and a valid transmission. When Leo XIII pronounced the invalidity of Anglican Orders, he based his decision mainly on the absence of the second element, viz., the proper rite and intention. That by itself was sufficient to make them null and void. On the historic question whether there was a valid transmitter or not, the Pope did not directly decide.

In this searching volume, Mgr. Barnes is concerned with just this point, i.e., with William Barlow's consecration, the validity or invalidity of which affects essentially the consecration of Archbishop Parker, who is the *fons et origo* of the whole Anglican hierarchy. If Barlow were not a Bishop, he, as principal consecrator, could not make Parker a Bishop. A careful perusal of the present volume will convince the reader that if the learned Eng-

lish priest has not made it absolutely certain that Barlow was never consecrated, at least he has made it still more doubtful. On several minor points only he has perhaps laid himself open to objections from both Catholic and Protestant authorities. Much perhaps of what Mgr. Barnes writes in his volume was known before, but with his skill as a document hunter and interpreter he has linked the various facts and controversies in the case. He shows in the clearest light that, although there should be some fifteen documents extant, any one of which would be a sufficient proof of the consecration of Barlow, appointed by Henry VIII to the bishopric of St. Asaph and St. David's, by Edward VI to Bath and Wells, and by Elizabeth to Chichester, all fifteen are absent. Up to the crucial moment, says Mgr. Barnes, all the documents are to be found, but nothing afterwards. Such a state of affairs he says is "unparalleled." To the objection that we have record neither of the place where the Catholic Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was consecrated, nor of his consecrators, he answers that, it must be remembered that Gardiner was an appointee of the Holy See, and so some of the documents naturally found in cases of later appointments by the Crown are not available. To make the Barlow case with its complete absence of documentary proof still more startling, the author states that in the case of Bishop Goodrich, consecrated Bishop of Ely in 1534 and thus "the first of the new Bishops after the breach with Rome," twelve documents similar to the ones wanted in the Barlow case, are found extant. More complete documentary proof of that fact would in this instance be welcome from the pen of Mgr. Barnes. It would add extraordinary weight to his already vigorous line of attack.

J. C. R.

The Wonderful Crucifix of Limpias. By REV. BARON VON KLEIST, S.T.D. New York: Benziger Bros. \$1.25.

Eschatology. By REV. FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the General Theological Seminary. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.25.

Dr. Kleist's book gives an account of the remarkable events which have taken place during the past three years at the little town of Limpias, in Spain. In the parish church of that place, behind the main altar, is a life-sized wooden figure of Our Lord on the cross. On March 30, 1919, during a sermon, several people declared that they saw the figure of Christ close its eyes. Since that day, thousands have been favored with similar manifestations. Some have seen the head of the statue turn from side to side; others have noticed drops of blood running down the face and neck; others have seen the eyes move. In the arrangement of its matter, the book deserves great praise. The author begins with a brief and clear narrative of the facts. Then he gives the testimony of a large number of witnesses. After this he tells of the investigation by the Bishop, and finally gives us his own opinion of the nature of the occurrences. In his judgment, the manifestations are objectively real. There is no motion or change in the figure itself, because the same changes are not seen by all at the same time. They are not, however, merely subjective visions, but are produced by a real change in the rays of light coming from the crucifix to the eye of the beholder. The book is interesting, and is written in a spirit at the same time scientific and devout. It is well worth reading.

The tenth and final volume of Dr. Hall's course of dogmatic theology deals with what we generally call the "four last things." At the present time there is need of insisting on the fact that there are four last things, and not merely two: death and heaven. In this respect no fault can be found with Dr. Hall. He teaches that after the last judgment there is a heaven in which the just are eternally happy in the beatific vision, and an everlasting hell in which are found the punishment of loss and the punishment of pain. He also teaches the existence of purgatory, and the usefulness of prayers for the dead, without, however, admitting the

efficacy of indulgences. His leaning towards Catholic doctrine is shown by the dedication of the volume "to the blessed memory of St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest constructive theologian of Christian ages." It is a pleasure to think that this volume, on account of its scholarship and its clearness, will help those outside the Church to hold sane opinions about the future life. J. F. D.

From Gladstone to Lloyd George. By ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH. New York: George H. Doran Co. \$4.00.

A worth-while book of reminiscences is always welcome. Here is such a one, with the great Parliamentary figures of the last fifty years for its subject. Mr. Alexander Mackintosh has looked on at the drama of English politics from the press gallery since the days of Disraeli, and he has set down his recollections in a manner fascinating, yet singularly free from party spirit. Politics to Mr. Mackintosh, as a newspaper man, is a series of dramatic moments, and in such a light he describes the happenings of the last two generations in the House of Commons. He divides his subject into episodes, each one a little drama in itself, portraying a central personage in his rise, his hour of power, and his fall. The scene is always the House of Commons, but the chief actors vary as only human beings can: Gladstone, Salisbury, Rosebery, Churchill, Parnell, Chamberlain, Balfour, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, and Lloyd George receiving their due mention. Mr. Mackintosh treats each separately, and only as a parliamentary figure. Events in the House during his tenure of power, particularly dramatic incidents and criticisms of style as an orator, debater, or party whip, comprise his method of treatment. But more than this the author gives, for the peculiar excellence of the book lies in his vivid pen-pictures of the great leaders, and the portrayal of their human side by a man who observed them on the benches, and mingled with them in the lobby of the House of Commons. Gladstone, Chamberlain and Campbell-Bannerman are well described, but the character-portraits of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George are the best. "From Gladstone to Lloyd George" is an intensely human book, one of the sort that, without infringing on the truth, makes history live. M. P. H.

Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851: Edited by MARY FLOYD WILLIAMS. **History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851:** By MARY FLOYD WILLIAMS. Berkeley: University of California Press.

In the popular imagination the year 1849 in American history will always be associated with gold. But the attendant social problems created by the sudden gathering of some 75,000 fortune-hunters of every ilk and from every clime, is a topic with which people are less familiar. Of this portion of pioneer history Miss Williams has given us the most interesting phase. For not all who sought the gold-mines of California in '49 turned their faces towards the Pacific coast with thoughts of justice and peace. A flock of jail-birds taking wing from the British penal colonies entered San Francisco through the Golden Gate and inaugurated a reign of arson, theft, and murder which the arm of the law was too short to reach and too weak to suppress. How in the face of a helpless administration the citizens of that city called their thoughts to council, how they organized for the protection of their lives and their property, and how by illegal proceedings they brought evil-doers to justice and retribution and restored order, is the engaging story documented in the first of these volumes and spun into a lively narrative in the second. The political philosopher who subscribes to the common doctrine that it may sometimes be necessary to sacrifice the government for the people but never the people for the government, will find in the history of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco a very forceful example of popular sovereignty with which to sharpen his arguments.

Miss Williams deserves well of students of American history in general and of the people of California in particular. The labor of bringing from the secrecy of archives an enormous mass of documents and of preparing them for publication was little short of heroic. Furthermore she brought to her task the accomplishments of a thorough scholarship and of a vigorous style.

D. B. Z.

The Conquest of New Granada. By R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The story of Ximenes de Quesada is told in this volume. It is a vivid story of suffering and trial and triumph. No reader interested in the tale of the Spanish conquerors should miss this book. The author is well equipped for his work, and in these pages as in his previous volumes like "A Vanished Arcadia" he has gone to first hand sources and made his history accurate as well as interesting. Cunningham Graham makes history read like a novel, and yet he rarely forgets that he is writing history. He keeps his opinions clear of his facts.

A great deal of falsehood has been written about the cruelty of the Spanish conquerors. They were in many instances cruel as were the British and the French.

Cruel no doubt they were, but yet not all of them; witness the names of Alvar Nuñez, Balboa and of him I am to write about. Cruel perhaps, but who are we to cast a stone at them? . . . Robertson, Prescott and other Protestant and English-speaking writers on the Spanish conquest of the New World have pandered to religious and to racial pride and prejudice. For them all Spaniards were cruel, blood-thirsty and treacherous. This came in some degree from ignorance and more from the atavism of the time when Spain and England were rivals for the dominions of the seas.

Cunningham Graham gives the final answer to Spanish cruelty by declaring that the conquerors have left in the modern republics of South America Indians who today are citizens and in some instances officials of State. "In what Valhalla suitable to them are the inhabitants of Tasmania, how many the Indians in the United States and Canada? An enlightened Anglo-Saxon Protestantism has allowed them to be exterminated, thus at one blow solving their duty to an inferior race."

Quesada's conquest is indeed an important chapter in the history of the New World. His modern chronicler proves its importance, and in telling of it proves too that Quesada in many ways was above the men of his time. A fearless leader he inspired courage in others. A great general he was the true captain, the first to begin the fray, the last to leave. There is but one great blot of injustice, cruel injustice too upon his name. Cunningham Graham is too much of an historian to pass it over lightly. He condemns it unsparingly as it should be condemned. As long as Quesada's name survives it will be retold. And it should be. G. C. T.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A Delightful Book.—A recent holiday book that Christmas buyers should not fail to keep in mind, is called "Two Little Misogynists" (Holt), which the Vicomtesse de Roquette-Buisson has admirably translated from the original of Carl Spitteler, the winner, two years ago, of the Nobel Prize for literature, and as the veracious book-jacket states, "the greatest writer of modern Switzerland." All the author has to tell are a day's adventures had on their way back to school by two little cadets, Cannoneer Gerold Guggenbuhler of Aamünsterberg, ten years old, and his brother, Infantry Soldier Hansli, aged nine. For to their supreme disgust there was quartered on them a witty and charming little girl, Anita Maria Septuagesima Weissenstein of Bischoffstadt, whose life they determined to make miserable but with her woman's wiles before the journey's end she had the misogynists her tamed captives. Only grown-ups of unusual discernment will see all that there is in the story, but perhaps some of the more

mature boys and girls of twelve or so can be taught to detect a little of the author's delicate humor, fidelity to life and consummate artistry. Miss Helene Carter, who has beautifully illustrated the book, with drawings, made a journey to Switzerland on purpose to catch the story's proper setting.

Books of Piety.—The countless readers of Father Le Buffe's attractive devotional series, "My Changeless Friend" (Apostleship of Prayer, \$0.30), will be glad to hear that the seventh little volume is ready. It embraces eighteen short Ignatian meditations on the Blessed Sacrament or for mental prayer.—Father Garesché's latest ascetical book is called "The Values Everlasting, Some Aids to Lift Our Hearts on High" (Benziger, \$1.25) and contains fifteen papers on such subjects as "The Greatness of the Little," "Conformity," "Confidence in Mary," "The Precious Half-Hour," and "A Strange Delusion" which is one of the best.—Sister M. Fides Shepperson's new book of "Cloister Chords" (Mt. Mercy Academy, Pittsburgh), contains her pious reflections on the virtue of "Hope," "War Echoes," or thoughts suggested by the great conflict the world went through, devout and affectionate tributes to "Our Sisterhoods" and some "Christmas" musings.—Recent Catholic Truth Society (Bergen St., Brooklyn), booklets are a good sketch by Robert E. Noble of "Lester Drummond, K.S.G., Barrister-at-Law, a Lay Apostle of the Faith and Pioneer of Catholic Evidence Gilds," Father Rickaby's explanation of "What Cranmer Meant to Do and Did" with the English Ordinal, a collection of "Confession and Communion Prayers for Little Children," the story of Father De Smet, "The Apostle of the Rocky Mountains," by Dom Norbert Birt and an excellent exposition of "The Doctrine of Self-Discipline," by Dom Justin McCann, M.A.—Father Blunt's very consoling book, "Great Penitents" has been reissued by Macmillan and now sells at \$1.00.

Memories and Counsels.—"A World Worth While, a Record of 'Auld Acquaintance'" (Harper, \$3.00), by W. A. Rogers, the cartoonist and illustrator, is a rambling record of fifty years. The author drew pictures for the *Daily Graphic* and *Harper's Weekly* in the old days and tells among other anecdotes how he once succeeded, out of zeal for fair-play, in getting into the latter virulent anti-Catholic publication, the story of a heroic Paterson priest who quelled a mob and saved a man's life. The book contains the author's recollections of Professor Bell, Abbey, Roosevelt, Reed, etc., and he illustrates the volume himself.

Lord Riddell, the newspaper magnate, has filled a readable book called "Some Things That Matter" (Doran) with counsels and reflections for those who are eager to "get on." "How to Concentrate," "How to Read," "How to Think," "How to Judge Things" are some of the chapter-heads, and there are good pages on the importance of acquiring the dictionary habit. But the volume, like many such books, tends to beguile its readers into believing that applying the author's advice practically is easier than rolling off a log.

Salisbury's Biography.—The two volumes entitled, "Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury by His Daughter, Lady Gwendolen Cecil" (Doran, \$12.00) are clearly the first of a four-volume biography of the late Robert Cecil, Third Marquis of Salisbury. As a member of the Cecil family and three times Prime Minister of England, no one will question the title of the Marquis to have his biography written. As men appear in the world of events, distinguished from that of achievement or thought, Salisbury was an important figure. He succeeded Disraeli as leader of the Conservative party in 1885 and for almost twenty years, with one serious interruption, remained at the helm of British politics. Lord Balfour, his nephew, was Chief Secretary for Ireland in Salisbury's second Ministry, and the Venezuela dispute occurred

and the Boer War was fought during his third Premiership. But a consideration of these events and others of lesser interest in their relation to Salisbury's career, as well as an estimate of his position, and his contribution to political development at the end of the century may be deferred, since the published volumes come down only to the year 1880. It should be said, however, as a fragment of biography these volumes promise well. They are written in excellent taste, in a pleasing style and with a background of culture and experience that gives them decided literary value and assures them of a proper place among the better biographies of the present day.

A Closed Controversy.—Students of our American Indian folk-songs, as is well known, have long been disputing, sometimes indeed with needless heat, about the authentic text of that ancient Chippewa hunting-song, "The Noble Mudjokivis." But John F. Quinn, S.J., the compiler of the excellent "Loyola Book of Verse" (Loyola University Press, Chicago, \$0.72), has apparently succeeded in securing for his anthology the best extant text of the poem. The lines that have given scholars the greatest difficulty are the fifth and sixth. For one school of critics has persistently held that the lines should read, "Made them with the warm side inside," etc., while the opposing school has maintained just as stoutly that the reading in the appended text is the only correct one. The compiler is to be congratulated on his success in thus putting an end to a long and bitter controversy. Here are the lines:

He killed the noble Mudjokivis,
Of the skin he made him mittens,
Made them with the fur side inside,
Made them with the skin side outside.
He, to get the warm side inside,
Put the inside skin side outside;
He, to get the cold side outside,
Put the warm side fur side inside.
That's why he put the fur side inside,
Why he put the skin side outside,
Why he turned them inside outside.

Fictionized Doctrine.—"Jock, Jack and the Corporal" and "Mr. Francis Newnes" (Matre & Co., Chicago), are the names of two books by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. In the first the author has set himself the task of covering practically the same ground as Father Scott in his "God and Myself." He has cast this book, a converts' catechism, into the form of "Talks to Wounded Tommies" for such are "Jock, Jack and the Corporal." Special commendation must be given to the many illuminating examples of Catholic belief and practise scattered throughout the pages, and to the chapters that describe the beauties of Christmas Morn and the strength of the Last Sacraments. Father Martindale has accomplished the rare feat of writing in "Mr. Francis Newnes," a sequel which is a better piece of workmanship than its predecessor. The reader closes this book of fictionized Catholic social economics with the feeling that the Jesuit author has put Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven" into prose. For up and down the pages of "Mr. Francis Newnes" the relentless love of God for one of the least of His creatures pursues, and pursues triumphantly.

Novels.—"Peregrine's Progress" (Little, Brown), by Jeffery Farnol is a pleasing tale. Sweet smelling country lanes; blooming hedges; fights in which villains are felled with mighty blows, but no unpleasant grunts or groans, wild rides on horseback; an Earl who goes incognito as a simple countryman; gypsies; tinkers who write verses of excellent value; prize fighters turned preachers and gentlemen of estate who drive and gamble and live as gentlemen. Shake well and the melange will give you Mr. Farnol's latest novel. The incidents—all—you will recall from the Broad Highway and the Amateur Gentleman. But, doing new

service, you will like them no less than that first time. "Peregrine's Progress" is sure to be rapid and many readers will gladly fall in line.

"Millions" (Macmillan), by Ernest Poole is a record of the dreams of Madge Cable, a country girl rebelling against thirty years of dull life. Her millionaire brother Gordon is sick unto death. Hence the battle in her soul between love of Gordon and love of his wealth which would come to her. Uncle Phil, Aunt Abby and Cousin Ray fill in the background. As an analysis of psychic conflict the story leaves little to be desired. The general impression, however, is depressing as a large part of the book is given over to a discussion whether free love be right or not, with the affirmatives seemingly the victors.

"December Love" (Doran), by Robert Hichens, takes its name from a series of infatuations on the part of an English society woman in the sixth decade of her very amorous career. There is much of "December" in it; nothing of a love that is sacred. Not an attractive character relieves the situation at any time, unless we except an elderly general. Even he takes a step down in his ultimate surrender to the lady who has been vainly fighting off "December." Those who took pleasure in some scenes of "The Garden of Allah" will not find Mr. Hichens' pen so alluring here.

"Broken Barriers" (Scribners), by Meredith Nicholson has nothing unusual either in plot or setting. The breaking down of the old conventions forms the theme of the story. One or two characters are well drawn and a convenient accident and a timely death help to solve a very ordinary plot that takes up nearly four hundred pages of print. The very popular happy ending is secured and so the book will be likely to sell. This and the preceding book may be classed among those that appear every season in great numbers unless there is a printers' strike.

"Five Nights at the Five Points" (Century), by Avery Gaul, is a Cape Cod ghost-story. Darkness and quiet and a proper set of nerves will bring on a chill or two, as you spend your nights in the old house where "the foot of something goes up and down the stairs." The ghost of Mattie "Charles T. Smith" is finally laid, but be careful of the creaking stairs, and bulging walls and reddish aura and Jezebel the psychic cat.

Education

The Public School the Only American School?

HAS William R. Hearst, the newspaper magnate, joined hands with the foes of religious education? Is he willing to lend his powerful support to the bigots and the Ku Klux Klansmen who are trying to close the parish schools of Oregon and other States?

We refuse to believe it. We can scarcely imagine that one who has so often championed American liberties and principles would lend his aid to the suppression of religious liberty and parental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. There seems to be a mistake somewhere. Some poorly informed scribe may have slipped into The Chicago *Herald-Examiner* for the issue of October 15 the article entitled: "The School—Earth's Noblest Monument." We are loath to assume that Mr. Hearst would approve such insulting charges against millions of his fellow-citizens and such a flagrant misrepresentation of historical facts and American principles.

Indirectly and by inference, the parish-school system is

declared to be un-American and undemocratic. Says the scribe in the *Examiner*:

There is only one really American school room, that is the PUBLIC schoolroom. There is only one typically American school, and that is the American PUBLIC SCHOOL. (*The capitalization of the words, public, and public school, appeared in the original.*)

From this the uninformed reader, not in touch with our schools, will conclude that the parish and religious school is not American. Especially so as he is told further on that: "The public school is the SCHOOL OF AMERICA, and the ONLY school."

Again we are told that "the public school is DEMOCRATIC. It receives and treats all alike; wealth does not count, poverty does not hinder." No well-informed Catholic denies this. But if the foregoing statements are read in connection with the assertion that "there is only one really American schoolroom," namely, the public school, they imply that the parish school discriminates because of wealth and poverty. We challenge the writer in the *Examiner* to prove his assertion.

"The public school," he goes on, "is first of all an education IN CITIZENSHIP." In the light of his assertion about "the ONLY school," this implies the charge that the parish school does not promote citizenship. He leaves no doubt when he adds: "Much to be pitied are those deprived of that splendid training in American life and American thought," that is, those not attending the public school! Such sweeping statements are an insult to the tens of thousands of graduates of parish schools who volunteered for service in the army and navy during the World War, and to the millions of men and women doing their duty toward their Government and their fellow-citizens in accordance with the spirit they imbibe in parish schools.

Our purpose is not to question the democratic or American character of the public school. But that one institution is American does not exclude another institution from being equally American and democratic. The position of the intelligent Catholic toward the public school is that it is good as far as it goes. But as for our children, we are bound in conscience to give them moral as well as secular education. And we have a constitutional as well as a natural-law right to do this. Moreover, in teaching our children religion as well as reading, arithmetic, and so on, we are giving our country patriotic service of the highest order. Governor Miller of New York declared at the commencement exercises of a parish school at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, on June 20, 1922, that "without religion and morality education might be more harmful than helpful." "I myself," he added, "place religion first as the pillar that supports the State."

The original American public school was a denominational school. Religion was a recognized course of the curriculum. Some forty or fifty years after the founding of the Republic, between 1825 and 1840, religious instruction was excluded through the influence of agnostics. Today millions of our people profess no definite religious

belief. There are scores of sects. To give sectarian instruction of any kind would be offensive to a majority of the taxpayers. Hence, to avoid criticism on this score, the course is confined to secular branches of knowledge. But this is not essential to an American school. If the exclusion of religion were an American characteristic, the colonial public schools would not have been American. Washington's education could not have been American.

If the exclusion of religion from the curriculum is not essential to an American school, what makes a school American? Not the fact that it is supported by public taxation and that its tuition is free. Gas and electric plants in some of our large cities are owned in common by the taxpayers. The same is true of other countries, and a publicly-owned utility is no more American than it is European. Nor is the idea of a school free to all the children of a community, distinctly and originally American. So-called public schools were common in European countries for centuries before a school was ever built in the United States. The synod of Metz in the year 800 enjoined on every parish the duty of providing a school for all children. Parish schools were numerous in the Middle Ages, otherwise there would not have been 30,000 students at the University of Paris, a similar number at Oxford, and tens of thousands at Salerno, Bologna, etc., at a time when the population of Europe was not larger than that of modern France or England. Not even Harvard or Yale has 30,000 students today.

There are free schools in many European countries. Are they American? Because of its great wealth and its democratic spirit, America has developed the public school idea on a scale unknown in any other land or period of history. We are proud of this; but it is not originally an American idea.

"American" signifies above all that which stands for liberty and equality, a spirit of fairplay and tolerance. It is synonymous with freedom. A thing is not American just because it happens to be on American soil. It must represent the ideals which inspired the Fathers to fight for independence and to open the doors to the oppressed of all countries. The spirit of America is opposed to bigotry. The bigots who speak so glibly of the "American School" are strangers to its spirit and teachings. Its outstanding characteristic is liberty. This spirit is promoted in Catholic schools, because Catholic principles are a golden mean between anarchy and despotism. The principles of liberty and democracy were championed by the Church from its very beginning. The ideas and ideals of the men who founded our Republic can be traced to the works of Catholic theologians. These ideals inspire the teachers and management of the typical parish school; and because it is true to the maxim of George Washington, that religion and morality are of the highest importance to public welfare, the parish school is American in the best sense of the term and a bulwark of the Republic of republics.

ALEXANDER BOTHWELL.

Sociology Frenzied Production

"MANUFACTURING of all articles is being forced into the hands of enormous concerns that their cost to the consumer may be less. Thus, employees, regrettably, become more like human machines to the employer, and the employer almost a myth to his men." The great Iron-master has thus fitly characterized modern industry. It is to be distinguished not so much by the two entities of "capital" and "labor," as is the common but erroneous opinion, nor by the wage system, nor by the particular prevailing relationship between employer and employee, but, rather, by the feature of mass production. It predominates the whole of modern industry. Everywhere men and women are engaged at tasks which represent but the tiniest links in the entire chain of production. Men and women feverishly speed, day after day, through one monotonous operation. That is modern industry.

Take a suit of clothes, for instance. There was a day when skill and artistic workmanship were necessary for an acceptable piece of wearing apparel. But that is true no longer. Today there is an operator for the designing, one for the cutting, one for the collar; another inserts the sleeves, a fifth sews on the buttons, a sixth makes the buttonholes and so on through the whole gamut of jobs until the finished suit hangs foolishly on the wax figure, or is placed in exact size-classification on the clothing-counter.

Here is a young man who fastens nails in the ends of window-shade rollers as a daily, monthly, yearly task though he has spent two years in high school; here a woman who picks up a sheet of metal, polishes and places it on a new pile. In another place a man fastens down the nail which secures the cover on cigar boxes and in still another girls place chocolates in individual wrappers. A recent investigator reported that in a spinning mill, a woman was pointed out as the best worker. "I don't see how she does it," admitted the manager. "I have watched her for I could not believe her capable of turning out such a quantity. She does it honestly; of that I am convinced." The woman in question was nothing but bones. She was part of the machine at which she was gazing intently; for if she lost no time, if she wasted not a minute, she would receive \$28.50 on Saturday. It is interesting and sad to note that this woman had a family to care for.

The spell of the speed-mania has everywhere descended upon modern industry. It manifests itself not merely in the treble-gear pace of the piece-worker, but in all machine production. Whenever man augments the capacity of his hands by the use of mechanical contrivances, the same inevitable tendency manifests itself. Not long since a cutting speed of eighty feet a minute was considered the maximum in the process of cutting ferrous metals. Now on account of a new invention, this cutting can be done at the rate of two hundred and eight feet and more a minute. Thus machines must be speeded up three times as

fast and with them the human factor, who is said to direct them.

Whither are we hurrying with such speed? Surely it behooves us to stop occasionally to view the scenery along the way and, perchance, the wrecks that strew our path. Is the ultimate aim of life speed? Are we to continue this speeding-up process until the old-fashioned shuffling off of this mortal coil becomes a flying off? Is speed our God, kinematics our theology, and the land-of-go our future home? Success in life is measured on the advancement from an arithmetical to a geometrical progression in the velocity of living.

The query of a recent writer: "Are you operating an automobile or a movable mad-house?" would be an excellent subject for daily consideration. Thoughtful men and women are beginning to ponder the folly of it all and the question arises here and there, how can we stop it? how can life be slowed-up; how can this terrible monster of mass-production be subdued? Doubts are sprouting as to the value of having so much and knowing so much, if there is no time left in which to enjoy them.

Yet let there be talk of limiting production to reasonable limits and we are told that it is no longer possible to manufacture articles, whose consumption is general, on a small scale. Expensive establishments and machinery, costing millions, are required, as the amount per unit of what is termed "fixed charges" is so great a factor of the total cost that whether a concern can run successfully or not in many cases depends upon whether it divides these fixed charges, which are practically the same in a large establishment as in a small, by 1,000 units or 500 units per day. Hence the reason for the continual increase year by year in quantity production, not that the manufacturer primarily wishes to increase his product, but that the strain of competition forces him into extensions that he may thereby reduce more and more per unit these fixed charges, upon which the safety of his capital depends. Thus a certain article produced in quantities of one hundred cost \$4.90, but in quantities of 500 costs only \$1.50.

It is further argued that in a very true sense, mass production is absolutely essential to the maintenance of modern society. Great masses of people, crowded together in large cities are dependent for even the necessities of life upon modern methods of production. A large and growing population makes tremendous demands upon the community for food, shelter, clothing and luxuries. These must be supplied not only immediately and continuously but in large quantities.

All this is unquestionably beyond dispute. Yet at what a price it is bought! The dull, stupefying, monotonous routine blunts the soul, deadens the intellect, enervates the body and draws taut every nerve-fibre in the human system. Youth is stunted, manhood is enslaved and old age is premature and empty. The dormant capabilities of workmanship and true craftsmanship, common in some degree to every man, are never roused. There is a violence

done in such suppression and repression, which is bound to break forth in unnatural and inhuman ways. The dissatisfaction of thwarted desires and unsatisfied capacities helps fill the stream of social ills and maladies.

Is it possible that there is no way out from this? Take our whole economic and social structure, as at present constituted, for granted and there is certainly no escape. We must continue to make machines of men, yes, less than machines. Every year the great body of our youth must be sacrificed at the altar of this insatiable monster of frenzied production! Every year men must be enslaved to machines, and be dominated by their ceaseless grind!

Let us rather look these tragic results squarely in the eye, recognize them and reason our way to a more natural, human state of society. Mass production is necessary because of the malformation of our social and economic structure. Mass production is necessary because we consider it so. We have taken it for granted and hence it dominates our lives. This is an age of worship of the machine. We cannot see our way clear to a piling up and agglomeration of immense stores of material wealth; we cannot see a clear path to cheap production, to profit-making for the few, to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. Hence it is necessary to sacrifice man. Rather we are all being sacrificed. For the stench of this malpractice has permeated our whole social structure and we are all being gassed, the profiteers with the profitless. A reasonably calm and joyful existence is as foreign to the one as to the other.

We need to reorientate our views. We need to realize consciously that the machines we have built and about which we ceaselessly brag, are slowly grinding out our destruction. We need to look at man again, "a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor," and be able to say in full consciousness, "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God."

For long we placed our hope in fool-proof systems. It seemed to be the idea that if we but had fool-proof systems throughout our industrial establishments we could have fools work according to them. Then came the day of the fool-proof machine, with the idea of fools operating them. We are still in that day. By some it is called the age of the iron man. But no society will long endure with such ideas. It does not deserve to endure. It should perish. It must be reconstructed, before its ruins bury us.

If we but look at the matter calmly and quietly, it will soon become evident that there is no great mysterious inevitableness to it whatever. There are three elements that enter into production, labor, capital and natural resources. Labor is free, capital is free, but our natural resources are wholly monopolized. The land that we till and build on, the mines, forests, water-ways and powers are not open to free access for the use of all as they were intended. Men are driven off the land by economic pressure. Great cities

are formed and greater ones, to our shame, are forming. Meanwhile capital, the second element in the scheme of production, has not free access to our natural resources. Raw materials and nature's powers, which the Creator meant for the good of all, are held in monopoly by the few. Extortionate prices are demanded, honest industry suffers, competition is excessive and unjust. Labor forced from the land, congregated in large communities, comes into keen competition with itself. And as the city grows the need for mass production increases. Man has thus made himself more dependent upon the machinery of his own hands. It will dominate and crush him, if he heeds not its warning.

Men or machines, which? What profit, if every man, woman and child has an automobile at the cost of bodies and souls in the making of them? Why huddle together in huge and unnatural communities? Why destroy the savor and flavor of life in the ceaseless roar of the machines we feverishly build and operate? A reasonable, dominated, subservient machine production will ever remain. But who can think sanely in terms of frenzied production?

H. A. FROMMELT.

Note and Comment

Sowing the Whirlwind

REVIEWING a book of modern materialistic philosophy a writer in the *Catholic World* pithily indicates the way such abstract discussions are converted into very concrete forces for the destruction of civilization itself:

It is a well established law of group psychology that doctrines first promulgated among the erudite, gradually filter down into the lives and thoughts of the average man of the streets and the fields; and that, in the process, all the safeguards and qualifications of the first formulation are lost and forgotten. Witness Rousseau and the French Revolution, Marx and famine-stricken, plague-ridden Russia. We have warning, then, that the fair phrases and the alluring ideals with which the literati of today cloak their destructive teachings will one day be torn away. A future age will see in the "modern mind" only a strengthening and deepening of the unreligious material spirit that is the curse of our world today.

What is true of books is doubly true of the materialistic teaching in our universities.

"Dying with Their Boots On"

MR. LOUIS JOSEPH VANCE, the American author who was sent to Central Europe to gather material for a story on "the people that are dying with their boots on," recently remarked to a reporter of the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* that "the immensity of the subject" made him doubt whether he would be able to handle it.

In Prague, Budapest and Vienna I found the populace in a very

bad condition. Prices of articles of necessity are such that I do not see how they can be bought by the natives. Articles of luxury are even above the reach of tourists, who have the benefit of the increased value of their money, such as we Americans have. The people dress neatly, but their clothes are usually threadbare.

Stopping at one of the best hotels in Vienna he could obtain neither warm water for his bath nor the slightest bit of heat for his room. "From the way I suffered as a tourist I can imagine how the general population must be living." His opinion, nevertheless, that Bolshevism is inevitable in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria within the next six months leaves out of count the Catholicism, however weakened, of these countries, which still remains the one invincible bulwark of civilization.

Representatives Room in Moscow

HOW the various religious denominations are active in the Russian relief work is thus described by Dr. John Sheridan Zelig of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ:

In a stately room, in a great residence in Moscow, the American Relief Administration has established what is known as the "Representatives Room." The representatives are those who act under the A. R. A.—as the American Relief Administration is everywhere called—for the religious and philanthropic organizations who under its auspices carry on a work of mercy for special constituencies in Russia. The National Lutheran Welfare Council holds one desk, the Jewish Relief another, the Mennonites, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Baptist Relief, and the National Catholic Welfare Council, the others.

Previous to July 1 the Federal Council of Churches had carried on its operations through the general staff of the A. R. A., but since that time it has also moved its table into the Representatives Room and taken its seat there.

The Menace of Federal Autocracy

IF anything can bring home with telling force the appalling menace of Federal autocracy which the nation is light-heartedly facing today without a thought for the morrow, it is the multitude of new Federal offices and officials that are constantly being created. These, as the *Dearborn Independent* shows, have been multiplied more than a hundredfold since the days when the wise Fathers of our Republic indicted George III in the words: "He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out our substance." The following figures tell how these numbers have grown:

In 1819 the services of only 6,327 persons were needed for carrying on the civil affairs of the Federal Government. That is to say only about one out of every 1,500 of the population was a Federal official or employee.

In 1861 only 53,900 persons were on the civil payroll of the Government. Ten years later there were 107,000 persons on that payroll, the big increase being largely a result of the Civil War. Thirty

years later the number had grown to 256,000. Then began the big jumps. In two years, from 1901 to 1903, the "civil establishment" increased by nearly 50,000. Then there were average annual increases of 5,000 to 10,000 until our entrance into the World War sent the total number to practically 1,000,000. Since the war, of course, there have been declines, which have now about ceased. On June 30, 1922, there were 560,863 persons in the "civil establishment" as salaried or wage employes of the Government. This represented an increase of 120,000 over the pre-war number. There are many thousands who are paid in part by the Federal Government but are not carried on its official payrolls, such, for example, as county agents employed under the Smith-Lever Act.

It is estimated by the writer of the above lines that at least one out of every 150 of the country's population is an official or employe of the Federal Government. If the army and navy are included this estimate must be raised to at least one out of every one hundred. The expansion of Federal autocracy was formerly hindered by the limits of taxation, but these have been removed from Congress by the Amendment to the Constitution to levy income taxes. "The income tax makes it possible for Congress to raise practically any amount." While a few men seemingly carry this burden, it is in reality passed on by them to the general public. Who then can fail to see the reign of absolutism that is threatening us with its army of office-holders and of governmental spies. "The tendrils of centralized government are reaching out for the home, the school, the community."

Christianity's Failure

REGARDING a politician's recent allegation about "the failure of Christianity to prevent the Great War," Mr. Chesterton writes in the *New Witness*:

That many may still be saying this is but another evidence of how few of them ever think of thinking what they are saying. To begin with, of course, no authoritative Christians ever dreamed of saying that wars would now cease, and the wilder sort of Christians were always saying that wars would now be multiplied, being among the apocalyptic portents of the last days. As a matter of fact, the people who really did prophesy that wars would now cease were not the Christians but the anti-Christians. The people who really did say that war was a thing of the past were generally the people who also said that Christianity was a thing of the past. It was agnostics and anti-clericals of the type of Carnegie who said in so many words that there would be no more wars. It is they who were false prophets, if any people were false prophets. It was the Marxian materialists who were always telling us that a general strike, among the proletarians in all nations, would prevent any conflict between those nations. It is they who failed, if anybody failed, to prevent the Great War. It was they who claimed to be able to do it, and they who showed that they could not do it. Nobody had ever claimed that a combination of Bishops and curates all over the world could do it. And those who boasted, and failed, then had the impudence to turn round and attribute the failure to those who had never made the boast.

But the impudence involved here is even more simple and startling. In any case it seems brazenly irrational that because people have failed to be Christians they should say that Christianity has failed. It might be mildly suggested to them that they need not look quite so far afield for the failure. My mother tells

me not to climb a certain apple tree to steal apples, and I do it in spite of her. A bough breaks, a bulldog pins me by the throat, a policeman takes me to prison, whence I eventually return to shake my head reproachfully at my mother, and say in a sad and meditative manner: "I had hoped better things of you." Alas, there is something pathetic about this failure of motherhood to influence the modern mind; I fear we must all admit that maternity as an institution is barren and must be abandoned altogether.

Now that Mr. Chesterton is a Catholic, we may be sure that the Church and the cause of Christ will never lack the services of his keen mind.

The Staggering Price

REPLYING to the onslaught made upon him for his attack on the Prohibition question the editor of the *Lowell Courier-Citizen* answers that he is in duty bound to emphasize the truth that: "The cure is fifty or sixty times worse than the disease, and alas the disease persists as it did before." Accepting the exaggerated assumption that there were in the United States before the Prohibition enactment 1,000,000 habitual drunkards, who debauched their bodies and ruined their lives, he argues that there are now from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 men and women in a reckless state of mind in regard to "the most sacred and fundamental of all our secular laws, the Constitution of the United States."

One stands aghast at the possibilities of the situation. This insidious undermining of our national foundations must give pause to every thoughtful citizen. Furious denunciations and vehement pleadings are utterly powerless to stay the ruin that is actually going on.

We are asked, he concludes, to make everything of the fact that a few men drank themselves to death every year, whereas we are told to make nothing now of the greater fact that while thousands still debauch themselves as before, or rather far worse than before, "millions daily diminish in their reverence for the laws and Constitution of the American Government." This is a subject that certainly deserves the most careful consideration. To be silent, he believes, would be criminal, and to approve it, "stark, staring insanity." Meantime the anti-Prohibitionists have issued the following detailed analysis of the causes for arrests, in 1921, in fifty-six selected cities in different parts of the country.

	1920.	1921.	Inc. P. C.
Arrests for all causes.....	1,233,904	1,464,296	18.67
Drunkenness and disorderly conduct..	252,310	343,665	36.21
Violation prohibition law.....	26,607	56,541	112.50
Drunken automobilists	3,588	5,825	62.35
Thefts and burglary	59,723	62,676	4.94
Homicide	2,440	2,712	11.15
Assault and battery.....	43,135	49,000	12.60
Drug addiction and peddling.....	4,892	8,252	68.68
Fraud and embezzlement.....	8,242	9,408	14.15

In other words, in those cities, arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct increased 36.21 per cent.